

IN THESE TIMES

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The Independent Socialist Newspaper

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Photo by Paul Sequeira

The death of a mayor

Under Daley Chicago politics seemed monolithic. This was a tribute to his political genius. It was all held together by patronage and his charisma. What now? Page 3.

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The union has launched a massive drive to organize 100,000 new members. Its goal is to cover 75 percent of California's farm laborers. Page 8.

In These Times photo by John Judis



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NEWSFRONT

Old wine in new year bottles



Carter choices no threat

Last week, President-elect James Carter put the finishing touches on his Cabinet and Executive Office. While the presence of two blacks and two women shows the increased influence of the black and women's movements in American politics—Carter, unlike his predecessor, could not ignore them—his choices will not threaten the increasingly conservative thrust of the Carter administration.

Having been appointed ambassador to the U.N., Andrew Young quickly made clear that while proclaiming his support for majority rule in Southern Africa, he would follow the dubious Kissinger-Ford path for attaining it. At a conference in Lesotho, which was attended by U.S. congresspeople, corporation heads and representatives from 35 African nations, Young explained that the Carter administration would support "peaceful rather than militant change in South Africa." Again reaffirming the Kissinger-Ford strategy, Young also rejected U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa, labeling them "counterproductive."

Patricia Harris, Carter's black appointee to be Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, was on the other side of the struggle to reform the Democratic party after the 1968 convention. In 1969 she resigned as dean of Howard University Law School rather than negotiate with students demanding more participation in school decisions.

No defense cuts

For his Secretaries of Defense and State and for his key National Security Advisor, Carter relied on the small group of lawyers and intellectuals whom Noam Chomsky called the "new Mandarins." They don't run for public office and spend their time instead commuting to Washington from corporate law offices, posh foundations, and elite universities.

Their job has been to continue the unbroken line of foreign and defense policy that has run through the executive branch in spite of the change in presidents and parties. Of course, there are differences. Cyrus Vance is supposed to be a "team player" where Kissinger was the "Lone Ranger." But as has already become apparent, the differences are less important

than the similarities.

Having adopted a "get tough with the Russians" posture during the TV debates, Carter and Vance have expressed a willingness to meet with Brezhnev and to continue the Ford-Kissinger detente policies. And this week Harold Brown, Carter's secretary of defense, indicated he has no intention of fulfilling Carter's promise of a \$5 to \$7 billion cut in defense spending. Replying to reporters at St. Simons, Brown said that he doubted whether an "absolute reduction" of that amount could be achieved.

UAW wins in South

In an important victory for unions attempting to organize the South, workers at the General Motors Guide Lamp Division in Monroe, La., voted on Dec. 23 to affiliate with the United Auto Workers. The Guide Lamp plant had originally been moved to Monroe from Anderson, Ind., to avoid the higher union wages in the North.

Prior to the Monroe victory, the UAW had lost three bargaining elections in the South. But last month, the union won a promise in its national contract with GM that the company would not openly oppose its organizing drive in the South. While GM's official hands-off attitude undoubtedly contributed to the victory, a UAW international representative told *In These Times* that on the factory floor it was still a "dirty fight."

Officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Union, which is trying to organize the Southern-based J.P. Stevens & Co., predicted that the Monroe victory would aid them in their efforts.

Saudi oil motives

Having failed at the conference table to convince other OPEC countries to join them in limiting oil price rises to 5 percent, Saudi Arabia and the Arabian American Oil Co. are shifting the struggle to the marketplace. On Dec. 27 the *Middle East Economic Survey* reported that Saudi Arabia had decided to increase its oil production from 8.5 to 10 million barrels a day in the next three months. The effect of the Saudi production increase will be to create an excess of supply and to force other oil producing countries to lower their prices.

In an interview with the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, oil minister Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani shed some light on the Saudi motives for fighting the price rise. "We are extremely worried about the economic situation in the West," Yamani explained, "worried about the possibility of a new recession, worried about the situation in Britain, Italy, even in France and some other nations. And we do not want another regime coming to power in France or Italy."

Asked whether he meant Communist regimes, Yamani replied, "Yes," and added, "The situation in Spain is not so healthy and the same applies to Portugal."

ZUPO white hope

Rhodesian premier Ian Smith may have a new ace up his sleeve. On Dec. 29, the two leading black members of Smith's government resigned to form a new political party, the Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO). Criticizing the black liberation organizations, ZUPO declares in its manifesto, "The black politicians are stuck with demands which are so extreme that they worry not only the whites but the majority of blacks as well."

Other blacks have labeled ZUPO a "puppet group." "It won't cut any ice with the people of Zimbabwe," Joshua Nkomo said. "It is white-initiated and will be white-run from behind the scenes."

Smith is expected to ask that ZUPO be included in the Geneva talks. If the talks fail, he may try to negotiate with ZUPO on a constitution for majority rule that would protect white settler interests.

Spanish Communists released

On Dec. 30, the Spanish government released on bail Santiago Carrillo and seven other leaders of the outlawed Spanish Communist party, who had been arrested on Dec. 23 for illegal association. Their release came after thousands demonstrated in Madrid and after the Spanish political parties that form the Democratic Opposition had threatened to pull out of talks with the government on its plans for setting up an elected parliament. Carrillo was himself the Communist representative on the Democratic Opposition's negotiating team.

The funeral



In These Times photo by Jane Melnick

Bossism after the Boss?

By Don Rose

The Boss is dead...long live bossism.

That's Chicago's apparent direction in these early days in the wake of the death of Mayor Richard J. Daley. For a bizarre 10-day period, however, the public was treated to a wild display of power plays and political jockeying among the many discrete elements that make up what is known here as The Machine.

Under Daley there was a sense of the monolithic, which is a tribute to his political genius. In fact, there are and were competitive and diverse ingredients in the monolith, held together by the cement of patronage and Daley's own near-religious charisma.

The pieces seen openly in action during the past two weeks include factions based on age, ethnicity, race and urban geography. They overlap in numerous byzan-

tine ways, but the chief factor applying to all is that anything resembling ideology or philosophy of government is almost totally absent.

Hidden forces in the political maneuvering included the crime syndicate, which controls directly or indirectly five Italian aldermen, the old-line unions, and the business/financial establishment that used to operate directly through Daley.

Daley, despite frequent references as the "last of the old-style bosses" was, in Sydney Lens' phrase, the first of the new-style bosses, having coalesced all of these elements—especially the business/financial combine—into a cohesive force.

►Fighting to divide the pie.

The current dissension centers around a new division of the bountiful, multibillion-dollar political pie of Chicago and Cook county as amplified by the federal government.

The most vocal and media-grabbing element is a loose coalition known as the "Young Turks," under the leadership of Ald. Edward Vrodolyak. They basically want a bigger cut of everything and can be relied upon to plunder the city if they win in a way that would make Daley appear a goodie-two-shoes reformer.

The blacks, representing about 35 to 40 percent of the vote and 13 of the 50 aldermen (there is one black ward vacancy), aspire, naturally, to real power, but have been kept substantially in line. The elected leaders have traditionally been puppets and seemingly are continuing as such.

The Polish-Slavic bloc, numbering 13 aldermen, represent a population growing in size and actual power through the kind of heavy voting patterns that have always been urged upon blacks.

A potentially explosive situation in the City Council over who was going to be interim mayor—until a special election

in the spring to fill the remaining two years of Daley's term—was sidetracked by the choice of Daley protege Michael Bilandic as interim mayor. Bilandic and his cohorts successfully bought off a black bid for the interim post, slapped back the Vrodolyak forces and pacified the Poles in a masterful deal that parceled out positions for all, including the creation of a new vice mayorship for the Poles.

More important than the interim mayor post is the chairmanship of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee—composed of a committeeman from each of the 50 Chicago wards (often but not always the alderman) and from each of the 30 suburban townships. The Central Committee wields the real power by virtue of an informal agreement among all public officeholders to funnel the more than 20,000 city and county patron-

Continued on page 21.

Wheeling and dealing for Daley's legacy

Daley would have been proud of how his followers shuffled positions to oil creaky spots in the machine.

By David Moberg
National Staff Writer

A smiling, Buddha-like, wall-sized photo of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley draped in mourning black and royal purple, dominated the Chicago City Council chambers. The mayor's stuffed red chair was empty in deference to the man whose 22-year rule over Chicago ended the afternoon of Dec. 20 with a sudden heart attack in his doctor's office.

After a week of elevated public testimonials and nitty-gritty private politicking, the 48 aldermen and women gathered last Wednesday to select an acting mayor until elections are held sometime within the next six months. "It saddens us to come to this place without our beloved mayor," Rev. Reuben Cruz intoned as the meeting began, "but we know his spirit remains with us."

Indeed, it does.

The council meeting was a tribute to Daley-style politics. The main gallery was packed with patronage workers and Daley loyalists who knew when to applaud. A few of the angry crowd of blacks who had come to the meeting had been squeezed into the upstairs gallery, conveniently behind class partitions that would muffle their protests.

Daley had played his cards close to his chest. There was no clear heir to party power, not even a clear line of temporary succession to office. Most Chicagoans, citizen and politician alike, could not imagine the city without Hizzoner.

"Daley is fine in '79" buttons were on labels before the mayor had even won his sixth election in 1975.

►Couldn't have a black—even for a week.

In the confused situation, one thing however was clear. As President Pro Tem of the city council, Wilson Frost had a claim to temporary power. But he would never do, even as Mayor-for-a-Week. Frost is black.

So appointed Deputy Mayor Kenneth Sain kept the reins, and blacks grew angry. Operation PUSH director Jesse Jackson called it a "coup d'etat" and said, quite reasonably, that Daley loyalist Frost was "eliminated strictly on the basis of his race."

The wheeling and dealing started even while Daley's body lay in state before the 100,000-plus Chicagoans who waited in the freezing night to take part in the wake at the parish church in Bridgeport, the white working class neighborhood that had been his home and power base.

Despite attempted power plays by Frost and a young, aggressive alderman, Ed Vrodolyak, the old guard passed the mantle on to Michael Bilandic, a stiff, bland character with a speech style much like a grammatical Daley, who had served as Finance Committee chairman and alderman from Daley's ward.

Daley would have been proud of how his followers shuffled positions to oil creaky spots in the machine. Caucuses proliferated in a week—blacks, Poles, Croatians, Jews (briefly) grouped, with

people presenting birth credentials for admission in some cases. There was a report of an apocryphal "idiot caucus" of unknown size.

Pieces of the pie were distributed before the meeting so that the encumbrances of open debate and democracy could be shelved in favor of more tributes to Richard Daley. Bilandic was acting mayor (and pledged not to run for mayor), Frost chairman of the Finance Committee, Polish Alderman Laskowski in a new vice mayor slot and Vrodolyak President Pro Tem of the council.

►Not a "hungry dog."

Vrodolyak also had the honor of nominating Bilandic. "Ego and personal considerations have never been a motive of Ald. Bilandic," he assured the TV audience, while acknowledging that his personal power and ego ambitions for three different posts had been squashed in the past week.

Later, with cries of "sit down, Uncle Tom" coming from blacks in the gallery, black Ald. Bennett Stewart praised Bilandic's honesty. "The late William Dawson [Daley's black henchman]—God rest his soul—said, 'Never send a hungry dog to get the meat.' Michael Bilandic is supposed to be a millionaire. So he's not hungry."

Vrodolyak touched off a heated dispute when he said that "Ald. Bilandic's nomination and election should be considered a victory for democracy." Demurring from the paean to unity, American-

ism and Daleyism, independent Ald. Dick Simpson said the result was really a victory of "11th ward backroom politics." Before he could finish his sentence there were a dozen shouts of "point of order." Any discussion of issues—such as impending city financial problems, hiring discrimination lawsuits and the continuation of the red squad—was apparently a violation of the peculiar parliamentary rules of the City Council.

"What has been traded and what's been campaigned on has not been the policies of the candidate," independent Ald. Martin Oberman charged. "What was campaigned on was the pie and who was going to get what pieces." Old Daley crony Vito Marzullo jumped to his feet, his bald head red with apoplexy, shouting that Oberman "disgraces the City Council...It's a disgrace to the people of Chicago."

Machine Ald. Terry Gbnsky chided the independents, the only dissenters to Bilandic's election, for failing to provide leadership, but added with a bluntness that defined the politics of the day, "If you don't agree with the majority, you're not going to be a leader." Frost apparently followed that advice. He decided not to run, he said, because "one of the requirements is that you have to have 25 votes" to win, and thus even to bother running. Don't call it a deal, he said, call it "negotiations."

The newly sworn-in Bilandic immediately introduced his mother. The spirit of Mayor Daley was palpable in the chambers.

IN THE NATION

Who is—and was—Griffin Bell?

By Jon Jacobs

Griffin Bell, Jimmy Carter's nominee for Attorney-General, is known as a moderate conservative. In a long career in politics he has been a top aid to mossback Georgia Gov. Ernest Vandiver, John Kennedy's campaign manager in Georgia in 1960, a judge in the federal Fifth Circuit and on the Court of Appeals and a law partner of Carter confidant Charles Kirbo. His nomination as Attorney-General has stirred a storm of controversy unknown to the Carter machine since its early "ethnic purity" blunder. Like some of Carter's other appointments—and the Carter candidacy itself—the nomination has caused ominous splits within the liberal Democratic community.

The basic objections to Bell as Attorney-General flow from his handling of school desegregation matters—both before and during his tenure as a federal judge. His activities in this area are open to various interpretations, but there is no doubt that he has taken a foot-dragging approach to effective school desegregation in the South. Those who see a vigorous federal push for school desegregation as a major priority of the Carter administration see the Bell appointment as a disaster.

Bell was born in Americus, Ga., a few miles from Plains—both in tiny Sumter county. The Carters and the Bells knew each other and the personal relations between the two men began when they were children.

Both men grew up in Georgia politics; Jimmy into the comic-tragic Georgia legislature and Bell into a job as Gov. Ernest Vandiver's chief of staff, where he first met the question of school integration.

In 1958, the Atlanta NAACP filed a federal suit to integrate the Atlanta school system. Although this suit was not to be settled for some time (until 1972), some legislators and the governor's staff saw demands for integration as inevitable and understood that the state needed to decide whether to keep public schools open when desegregation orders came. Although Gov. Vandiver originally vowed that "not one" black student would ever get into a white school, Bell and others convinced him to set up a commission headed by an Atlanta lawyer, the Sibley Commission, to devise a state policy.

The Sibley Commission did not stand for integration, but it did recommend that Georgia public schools be kept open at all costs. Bell's role in all this is obscured, but one Atlanta black leader of the time says "Bell was a force and a voice for moderation at a time when it wasn't popular to be moderate."

Bell's 1960 chairmanship of the Georgia Kennedy effort netted him an appointment to the Fifth Circuit court in New Orleans. In that position he was to be in the thick of the school desegregation issue in the South.

Before Bell had a chance to rule on any important school cases, he sat in a case that earned him the enmity of most progressives. In the fall of 1965 Julian Bond, an activist with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was elected to the Georgia legislature. The legislators, unused to a militant black, dug up quotes of Bond counselling young men not to serve in Vietnam and suggesting civil rights work at home as an alternative to service. Some members called this treason and in January 1966 the legislature refused to seat Bond.

The suit following the refusal, as a strictly constitutional question, went directly to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. Incredibly, Bell, writing for the majority, found Bond's remarks "repug-

nant to the oath" of a legislator, and upheld the refusal to seat Bond.

This decision was later overturned by a unanimous Supreme Court, but many point to this decision as signifying less of a love for civil liberties than is required in Carter's Attorney-General.

In 1972 Bell took further controversial actions—this time in the school desegregation field. Bell had supported the creation of the Sibley Commission, partly because of the Atlanta school desegregation suit filed by the NAACP in 1958. By 1972 the main progress made in the suit had been a federal court order requiring the Atlanta Board of Education to sit down with the NAACP to try to work out a compromise desegregation plan. At this point the Georgia ACLU filed suit in federal court stating that because of white flight from Atlanta no desegregation plan would work on less than a metropolitan basis. Thus there were two suits before the federal court—one calling for integration in the Atlanta system, the other demanding the same metro-wide.

Some members of the Atlanta school board, convinced that the metro approach was correct, wanted to get the board to join as co-plaintiff in the ACLU suit. They sent representatives to a meeting of the Atlanta Action Forum (AAF), an organization of Atlanta's power structure, to win support.

Exactly what happened next is in dispute, but *In These Times*' sources say the Judge Bell attended the AAF meeting and warned the leaders not to allow the Board of Education to join in the ACLU's metro suit because it would be held up for a long time. He suggested that the school board sit down with the NAACP and work out an acceptable solution that did not involve metro districts, and thus did not disturb those who had fled to the suburbs to avoid blacks.

Bell's suggestion was adopted and resulted in the "Atlanta Plan" under which blacks exchanged plans for total integration of city schools for a guarantee of full representation in the school administration. This plan has been implemented. Blacks now run the Atlanta school system, but the schools are almost totally segregated.

Since Judge Bell was sitting on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which had an involvement in both suits, his actions

seemed to constitute conflict of interest. But, even after a formal motion, Bell refused to remove himself from the case.

Bell's motive for interfering is unclear, but, as one source who asked not to be identified points out, Bell has said that he believes that once a board of education desegregates to the satisfaction of the court—which was the case with the Atlanta Plan—the courts have no more jurisdiction, even if the schools resegregate on their own. If this dictum holds, the effect of the agreement negotiated after his interference is to make the ACLU metro desegregation suit, which is still pending, moot. Many have concluded that Bell's pressure on the board to sign an agreement with the NAACP came to insure that the federal courts would not order metro-wide desegregation.

Bell retired from the bench on March 1, 1976, complaining that the job was "tiring," and joined King and Spalding, the law firm of which Carter intimate Charles Kirbo is a member.

According to informed sources in the Atlanta community, there were rumors five or six weeks ago that Bell was going to be appointed Attorney-General. One local lawyer told *In These Times*, "We were told it had been stopped." But after an unsuccessful nationwide hunt, which may have been for show, Carter resettled on Bell.

The howl from those who thought Carter owed them a liberal Attorney-General went up immediately. And, more important, word quickly came that members of the staff of Congressman and U.N. Ambassador-designate Andrew Young were up in arms and were out to stop the appointment.

Within 72 hours, however, the fervor had cooled and a strange split had shown itself. Andrew Young announced himself in favor of the appointment. And those who were trying to organize opposition found their potential best troops unwilling to serve: Howard Moore, attorney in the NAACP suit and later attorney for Angela Davis, "Whatever Carter wants to achieve in the area of desegregation, Bell will achieve. I see nothing wrong with it," David Crossland, progressive Atlanta attorney and political supporter of Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and Andrew Young, "I guess I'm not one of the rippers. I would view him as a

moderate conservative, not as a mossback. He is decisive, and that's what a person in the Justice Department needs," civil libertarian Chuck Morgan, "I said when I came out for Jimmy Carter that I disagreed with him...on his busing stand. I'd be wrong to oppose his appointee for Attorney-General, wouldn't I?"

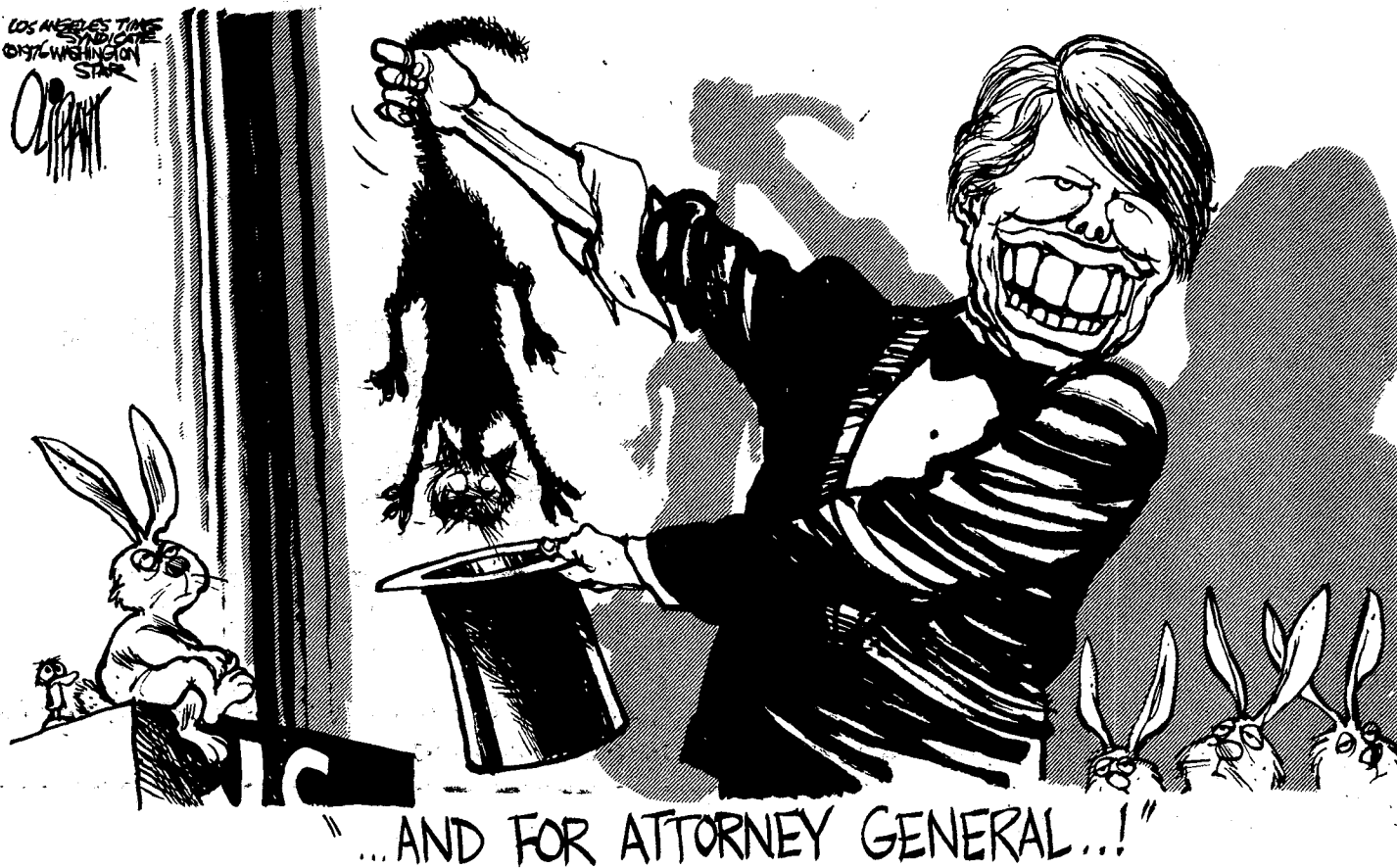
Opposition to the Bell nomination was submerged by the obvious fact that there would be no united liberal front against him.

Many view the Bell nomination as particularly sad because another southern jurist considered by Carter, Frank Johnson of Alabama, has an almost impeccable record on civil rights and civil liberties cases. It was rumored publicly that he was offered the job of Attorney-General and turned it down, but *In These Times* has learned that in fact Johnson was offered Assistant Attorney-General, which he turned down.

Judging from his decisions and the opinions of lawyers who have appeared in front of him, Bell can be expected to be Jimmy Carter's creature. Like Carter, he opposes busing and agrees with the general direction of the Berger Court. He cannot be expected to supply dynamic leadership in working for school desegregation, open housing, or similar goals. He can be expected to go after white collar crime aggressively and to bring to the Justice Department a talent for organization and administration that has been lacking during the last few administrations. He can be expected, as was the case while he was a judge, to become personally involved in the political wheeling-dealing of Washington. And, unlike many of Carter's other appointments, his loyalty to the new president is beyond question.

Why the split among the progressives? Most sources attribute it to ambition. One local attorney, somewhat fearful, told *In These Times*, "Those folks, (Moore, Morgan, etc.) want jobs in Washington. Why else would they put aside their principles?" The closest anyone came to an admission was West Coast attorney Moore who, in response to a question about how he liked California, said, "I don't like it. Everything's behind the times. When you see the Today show, it's already three hours old. I want to come back East."

Jon Jacobs is a reporter in Atlanta, currently organizing a Southern Bureau for *In These Times*.



Carter appointments threaten support

By Tim Frasca
Washington Bureau

The appointment of charter cabinet and cabinet-level members of the Carter administration is complete. The tenuous coalition of blacks, labor, and business that elevated Carter to the presidency has survived the shift from campaign speeches into division of spoils. But with the Inaugural still three weeks away, its edges are already frayed. Business circles seem happy, but grumblings at AFL-CIO headquarters and a threat of Inauguration Day demonstrations from a mainstream civil rights figure portend a divergence of interests that is not likely to go away.

Black organizations, including the Congressional Black Caucus, had been focusing their attention on blocking the reappointment of John Dunlop, Nixon's former Secretary of Labor, to his old post. In the thick of that battle, however, Carter named another Georgia crony, Griffin Bell, to the highly sensitive position of Attorney-General. Blacks, anticipating a minority appointee, found Bell's segregationist past—and present—hard to swallow.

Bell was reportedly recommended to Carter by the archetype of unreconstructed segregationists, Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), who chairs the Senate committee dealing with the Justice department. Eastland could not have forgotten Bell's timely, though unpersuasive 1970 letter of support for Florida judge G. Harold Carswell, Nixon's appointee to the Supreme Court.

"This letter shocked everybody at the time," recalls Washington attorney Joseph Rauh who was among those who fought Carswell's nomination on civil rights grounds. Bell, a Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals judge at the time, defended the letter at a Dec. 20th press conference. He said he hadn't known all of Carswell's record when he wrote the letter, especially a notorious pro-segregation speech Carswell once gave. On the 22nd, however, Bell admitted he was "mistaken" and had known about the speech all along.

A nasty flap occurred over Bell's membership in several exclusive and discriminatory Georgia clubs, a controversy Bell himself did much to exacerbate and prolong. Under pressure, Bell reluctantly agreed to quit his memberships in Atlanta's elite clubs, which have no blacks or Jewish members.

The resignation was grudging, however. Bell said he was anxious not to lose the thousands of dollars of initiation fees he had paid and would seek "temporary" or "inactive" status. "I won't be in Washington forever," he said and later presumably will not need to bother with the symbols or facts of equality. Such remarks alarmed blacks, who wondered how Bell's Washington interlude would generate any serious commitment to equal rights enforcement. The NAACP dispatched a stinging telegram to Plains, informing Carter that Bell's appointment was "keenly resented by those of us deeply involved in the civil rights movement." Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) called it a "political payoff." Fellow black representative Parren Mitchell of Baltimore promised "a battle right down to the wire" over the "totally offensive" appointment, though he added later than an immediate repudiation of the clubs and Carswell would relax his opposition.

►Jobs are what's necessary.

Meanwhile, a Chicago pow-wow of mainstream black civil rights activists signaled the seriousness of black disaffection. "It is not enough for Carter to eat with black folks, sing and pray with black folks," warned the Urban League's Vernon Jordan. "What we need are jobs."

Black groups had two primary demands: high level appointments and quick relief of chronically sky-high black unemployment rate. A natural target was the Department of Labor.



Only weeks before the Inauguration Carter's appointments have come under increasing criticism as not reflecting his promise to bring more women, blacks and new faces into government.

Former Secretary John Dunlop was the favorite and at times the only choice of the AFL-CIO hierarchy.

But what prompted Nixon to appoint Dunlop in the first place made him anathema to women and minorities. A dozen black, latino, and women's groups wired Carter that Dunlop was absolutely unacceptable because of his resistance to affirmative action, both at the Department of Labor and at his old job at Harvard.

On the 22nd of December, Carter retreated and named Texas economist F. Ray Marshall to head the department. "Now it looks as if the women and blacks won," complained an unnamed source in the AFL-CIO afterwards.

►First and only black.

The same day, Carter appointed the first and only black to his cabinet, Patricia Roberts Harris as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. But the long-awaited moment did not start a rush back to Carter's doorstep. HUD is considered a second or third-string cabinet job, as Harris herself indicated.

But Harris had little to recommend herself to women and blacks beyond the fact that she was officially one of them. Although she sits on the board of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, NAACP officials, according to the *Washington Post*, privately "questioned the extent of her commitment to NAACP goals." She is described by a close friend as ambitious and hard-driving, "not an 'of, by and for the people' kind of person."

In an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* last month, Harris said the government should abandon "the whole notion of public housing." She also played what was to blacks a disturbing role in the Democratic Party's 1972 dismantling of McGovern-era quotas for minorities and women in the delegate selection process. All in all, some segments of the black community, said the *Post* cautiously, "have felt that Harris has not always been there when needed."

►Men did the searching.

Women had more reason to cheer the selection of Juanita Kreps as Secretary of Commerce. She chided Carter at her introductory press conference for saying that good women were hard to find. "It was men who did the searching," she countered. "We simply have to do a better job of searching in the case of both women and minorities."

Kreps' background and reputation indicate that her challenging opening statements may not be aberrations. She is de-

scribed as "aggressive" on affirmative action for both women and minorities for companies on whose boards she sits (among them: Western Electric, J.C. Penney, Eastman Kodak, and the New York Stock Exchange).

Her academic work has dealt with labor demographics or "manpower" problems, with emphasis on women and the aged, as well as today's No. 1 economic policy question: the conflict between maintaining full employment and fighting inflation in a capitalist framework. Although her answers to this dilemma (re-education, re-training, smoother transition from schooling to work, etc.) may seem naive, her stated intentions soon may find her at odds with headquarters.

"If the administration does not set about doing a very great deal for women at very high levels," warned Kreps, "then I think criticism is in order, and I will join it." Though masses of women in the U.S. easily could remain unaffected, Kreps at least looks anxious to have real movement at the top.

(While Carter tried to cover his tracks, Attorney-General-designate Bell did his best to arouse further suspicion. "It might not be possible," Bell speculated, to find "a good black" to head Justice Division of Civil Rights, the deputy-level assignment most logically filled by a minority representative.)

►A "silent voice" at the UN.

One appointment many blacks did not want, but got anyway, was the hot seat at the United Nations. Atlanta's Rep. Andrew Young took the job, reportedly after Rep. Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.), also black, turned it down.

Young will be "a silent voice," complained Jesse Jackson. Some blacks fear that Young will be used to project a new American image before the Third World nations but will have no say in policy formulation.

Others say Andy Young has the President-elect's ear on southern Africa like no one else. Whatever the truth, Young's Africa strategy could fit the Carter administration foreign policy outlook theoretically with hardly a snag.

First, says Young, the U.S. needs to establish some moral credibility—now nonexistent—in southern Africa; to "get on the right side of the moral issues." Although never addressing the question of why the U.S. to date has been politically and economically on the wrong side of those moral issues, Young expresses strong faith that the country can switch.

The U.S. needs to come out foresquare for an end to apartheid and back it up with action, he says.

But, Young adds, this correct moral position is also, happily, good for business. He draws a constant analogy to the early civil rights movement, saying that real progress came when bankers and industrialists decided that racial strife was hurting their operations. "Enlightened self-interest," says Young, was the key. He therefore does not support sanctions against South Africa but favors increasing pressure for concessions and a dismantling of apartheid, while a non-Marxist black leadership is being created.

►A slugfest at Defense.

Meanwhile, politicking over the Department of Defense turned into a real slugfest. Harold Brown, the eventual winner, was Carter's early favorite, but the AFL-CIO and sectors of the military establishment grouped around the newly formed Committee on the Present Danger considered him too much of a "dove."

Such a characterization of Brown is staggering. Brown, brought to the Pentagon by Kennedy in 1961, participated in the Vietnam adventure as no less than Secretary of the Air Force from 1965-69. The Pentagon Papers show him as a consistent opponent of reducing the bombing raids over the subcontinent. He once urged an increase "without the present scrupulous concern for collateral civilian damage and casualties."

But Brown is also well-known for his advocacy of reaching agreement with the USSR on nuclear weaponry, an unpopular position with the contract-conscious defense industries, but a top priority for Carter. Furthermore, choosing former Secretary James Schlesinger, whom the hard-liners preferred, would have alarmed the Soviets. Carter, eager to preserve detente and save money on heavy arms through SALT, stuck with Brown.

►Too much "give" in detente.

The hard-liners were not altogether on the sidelines. To the surprise of no one, Carter's key foreign policy adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was named special assistant to the President on national security affairs.

Brzezinski, who has gained some public notice as head of David Rockefeller's influential Trilateral Commission, criticizes Kissinger's version of detente as being too much "give" and not enough "take." Kissinger has allowed "some imbalances" to develop in the U.S.-USSR relationship, Brzezinski thinks, because Kissinger conceives the U.S. as a declining power. In Brzezinski's opinion, the U.S. can be "more pivotal" than ever.

The sudden parade of Cabinet appointees has diverted attention from the debate over new economic policies, the one place where Carter could blow everything.

►Schultze—a "reformed" Keynesian.

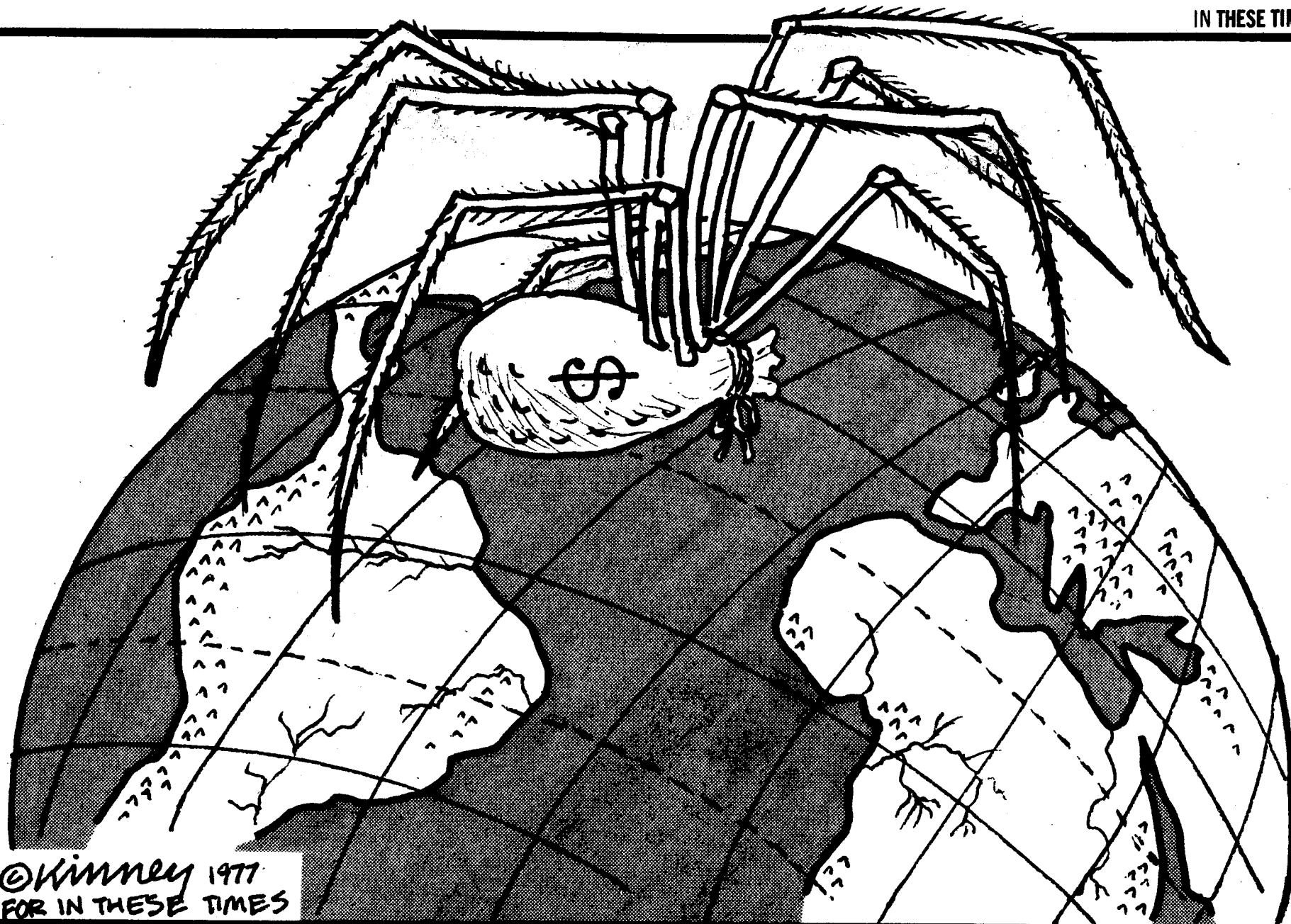
Charles L. Schultze, Carter's selection to head the Council of Economic Advisors, has some strong ideas on the subject. The versatile Schultze comes from the Brookings Institution, sometimes referred to as the Democratic government-in-exile, where he supervised voluminous studies of the budget year by year and provided critical alternatives.

Economically, Schultze could be called a "reformed Keynesian." He obviously believes that the government should attempt, through its spending decisions, to alter the present business cycle—that is, to spark the weakening recovery from recession.

But Schultze is "reformed" in that he is skeptical of the government's ability to erase poverty or unemployment with its spending programs.

Instead, the "reformed" theory runs, national policy ultimately should look to the "private market" to alleviate poverty and cure social ills. Business and industry,

Continued on page 14.



Multinationals: labor, business clash

By Dan Marshall

Despite business and government pressures, organized labor will continue its efforts to limit the overseas investments of U.S.-based multinational corporations. In addition, some trade unions and international labor organizations are formulating a comprehensive political approach toward multinationals that involves legally binding codes of conduct. These are the conclusions to be drawn from a conference on "American Labor's Stake and Voice in a Changing World Economy," convened Dec. 14-16 in Port Chester, N.Y.

Labor representatives have charged that U.S. multinationals rob the American economy of jobs, capital and technology by transferring production to foreign countries and importing manufactured goods into the U.S. This overseas expansion distorts the economies of developing countries and often strengthens foreign dictatorships that repress trade unions and maintain low wage rates.

In response to the growth of multinationals, labor has advocated import quotas on certain products and the elimination of tax benefits for overseas investment. The AFL-CIO has also called for an end to government guarantees against corporate losses in "politically unstable" nations.

Labor's "protectionist" approach to international trade has prompted much moaning in business, government, and academic circles. To change labor's mind, these groups convened the Port Chester conference.

►A high-powered attempt to change labor positions. The conference was mainly an educational event, with professors and government officials discussing the mechanics of world trade, its impact on domestic employment, and the structure of the "new international economic order."

While the conference arrived at no firm conclusions on these matters, the attempt to alter labor's position indicates that government and business view organized labor as a significant obstacle to the multinationals' free transfer of production from country to country.

The conference, primarily organized

Instead of dispassionate discussion, conference organizers heard heated exchanges between labor representatives and the proponents of unrestrained international trade.

"I heard a government official say that the conference didn't come off exactly as they had expected.

Obviously they expected to grab labor, sit it down here, and lecture it about what to think. What they've gotten is a lot of backtalk."

by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace and sponsored by 11 trade unions, brought together about 300 people of clashing interests and varied backgrounds. Labor representatives expected little from the meeting, a member of the AFL-CIO's research department told *In These Times*, since only 40 percent of its participants represented trade unions.

Some trade unionists viewed the lectures on economic and humanitarian pleas of featured speakers as condescending and hypocritical. "The AFL-CIO puts \$1.5 million into international affairs every year. They're not telling us anything new," commented Morris Paladino, head of the Asian American Free Labor Institute, one of three international labor centers sponsored by the AFL-CIO.

Instead of dispassionate discussion, conference organizers heard heated exchanges between labor representatives and the proponents of unrestrained international trade. "I heard a government official say that the conference didn't come off exactly as they had expected. Obviously they expected to grab labor, sit it down here, and lecture it about what to think. What they've gotten is a lot of backtalk," observed Pam Woywod of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

The clothing industry has been hit especially hard by cheap foreign imports and by the movement of garment manufacturing to low wage countries. Woywod cites research by Chip Levinson, an International Labor Organization (ILO) representative in Geneva, Switzerland, that "there is a concerted effort—or effect—on the part of multinationals to destroy unions in the Western world by going to low-wage places." During contract nego-

tiations, clothing companies have publicly threatened to move if union demands were too costly, she says.

►Possible international codes.

The conference's keynote address by Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and heir apparent to George Meany, reflected a heightened concern with the worldwide impact of multinationals. "The AFL-CIO does seem to realize that the multinational is destroying all labor standards," Woywod said.

Some conference speakers stressed an international code of conduct as a way to restrain multinationals and move toward worldwide standards on wages, working conditions, and trade union rights. "It is highly probable that the multinationals will be forced in the near future to accept more stringent codes and regulations on public accounting, pollution, foreign investment, taxes, employment, etc.," said Herman Rebhan, general secretary of the International Metalworkers Federation.

The IMF is one of 18 International Trade Secretariats that gather information on multinationals and promote transnational collective bargaining. American affiliates of the IMF include the United Auto Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the Allied Industrial Workers, and several electrical unions.

In conjunction with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the IMF is pushing for a legally-binding code for multinationals, an idea first raised by the ILO in 1973. In June 1976, the Organization for

Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) adopted "Guidelines on Multinational Companies" that included trade union demands.

The OECD code set up "moral commitments" to be observed by multinationals and exhorts them to respect trade union rights, disclose financial information, and maintain employment standards comparable to industrialized nations.

►Danger of "window dressing."

"There is a serious danger that such non-binding codes will be mere window dressing," comments Rebhan. He sees the OECD code as a first step, but believes the trade union movement will "continue to mount pressure for a code of conduct, for an international rule of law with teeth that will force the multinationals to pay allegiance to social development."

Other unionists at the conference shared Rebhan's doubts about a voluntary code. Ben Sharman, International Affairs Representative of the Machinists, said the code's impact has been "vastly exaggerated." He questions whether unions will have much input into future codes and blames the U.S. government for "watering down the OECD code and making it far less than what the trade union movement was shooting for."

Among American unions, IMF affiliates will advocate a binding code in the future, Rebhan says. "the UAW has expressed the most interest in this approach," adds Everett Kassalow of the University of Wisconsin. The AFL-CIO generally favors such codes, he believes, but will focus on more immediate measures to combat the multinational threat.

In April 1977 the U.N. will consider a code of conduct drafted by its Commission of Transnational Corporations. The IMF will have input into this draft and hopes to achieve a binding code. In the meantime, Rebhan says, the IMF "Has alerted its affiliates to press multinational companies to adhere strictly to the OECD code," and to report any violations to the OECD Surveillance Committee.

"We want no less than a new Magna Carta to curb these 20th century economic barons that are the multinational corporations," Rebhan concluded. ■

Camp Pendleton racial violence

Ironically, policies that let Black Panthers on the base in 1971 have allowed the KKK to flourish.

San Diego. It was a Saturday at the Marine Corps' Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, Calif., about 40 miles north of San Diego. Seven Marines—all white—sat in their barracks drinking beer, which, although against regulations, is hardly unusual.

There was a knock on the door. "Is Chuck here?" a voice asked.

"There's no Chuck here," replied one of the beer drinkers. And with that the door swung open and a group of Marines—all black—charged in. The assault was effective: six of the seven beer drinkers were stabbed with screwdrivers and beaten with clubs.

The Marine Corps issued routine statements about the incident; it was, after all, getting to be an accepted norm at the base. In the last three years, for example, there have been some 200 incidents of racial violence at Camp Pendleton, over 170 of which resulted in serious injuries, and about a dozen that the Corps calls major brawls.

Complaints from whites about blacks, and vice versa, are not uncommon at Camp Pendleton. Whites gripe about the influence of black culture on the base: music, clenched-fist salutes, and elaborate handshaking. Blacks, meanwhile, say that whites talk in derogatory terms, spit on and often beat up black Marines. They say that in proportion to their numbers at the base (18 percent of the 32,000 Marines are black) they have an unusually high number of "dead-end type military jobs," that they are punished more harshly than their white counterparts, and that they are discriminated against in the Corps' promotion process.

In that light, the incident on that Saturday, Nov. 13, didn't really surprise anybody at the base or in the surrounding cities and suburbs.

►Thought attacking Klan meeting.

It wasn't until an Urban League official revealed that the blacks had thought they were breaking up a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan that the incident took on major proportions.

Clarence Pendleton (no relation to the base), executive director of the San Diego Urban League, said that although the KKK meeting was actually taking place in the barracks next door, the blacks did break up a group of Marines who were at least sympathetic to the Klan. After the attack, Marine investigators found in the attacked barracks a list of Klan members, a .357 pistol, eight night sticks and a buck knife. (Many white Marines carry small buck knives, it has been reported. They casually refer to them as "nigger

stickers.").

The Klan's existence at Pendleton came as news to everyone except rank and file Marines. While military higher ups were issuing statements saying that they had been unaware of any KKK activity, enlisted men were detailing open Klan organizing at the base. Racist, pro-white literature had been passed out, a poster announcing a Klan meeting on Nov. 13 had been posted around the base, an 8-foot cross was burned in nearby Oceanside "as a message to drug pushers," and a molo-

bers have been shipped out of Camp Pendleton to other Marine bases. And the whole incident has triggered a rather strange set of events, involving right wing extremists, left wing protesters, and moderate civil rights activists.

Radicals and rightists clashed outside the base when David Duke, the 27-year-old Klan national chieftan, came to Camp Pendleton to rally his troops. Duke and five other Klan members tried to unfurl a KKK banner outside the base and in front of demonstrators marching in sup-



David Duke, chairman of the Ku Klux Klan, at Camp Pendleton.

Photo by Image Arts-SD

port cocktail had been thrown into the Oceanside office of the Urban League, which counsels many Marines, most of them black. Although no one was ever charged with this crime, sources say it is widely accepted that the Klan was involved.

That the Klan is allowed to exist on the base is justified by a 1971 policy decision by then-Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, which said that no political group could be banned within the military as long as it did not violate any military regulations. Ironically, the decision was handed down as the result of rising membership by black G.I.s in the Black Panther party.

►Triggered strange set of events.

The blacks who led the barracks attack have been charged with assault and conspiracy to assault. Confirmed Klan mem-

port of the arrested black Marines. A small fight ensued, with Duke getting hit over the head with a 2x2 block of wood by a woman protester, identified as a member of the Progressive Labor party.

Meanwhile, the Urban League has called for a congressional investigation into the incident at the base and for an examination of the Klan's existence in the Marine Corps. The latter request involves the dual-edged-sword suggestion that there be a "review of Melvin Laird's policy allowing persons in uniform to belong to subversive or extremist organizations to determine whether or not it is in the interest of national security."

The Urban League's position is that the Klan's mere existence on the base was enough to drive the black Marines to violence.

"In their minds," offers the League's Clarence Pendleton, "those guys were

right. Legally they were wrong. But morally they were justified. It was a crime of passion."

►ACLU defends First Amendment.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has also gotten involved in the case. Not only will they lend legal support and assistance to the accused black Marines, but they are filing a civil law suit on behalf of 12 white Marines who, suspected as Klan members, have been transferred from Camp Pendleton. The white Marines, the ACLU says, had their rights violated and were transferred only because of their political beliefs.

Responding to criticism for filing the law suit for the Klan, San Diego ACLU head Michael Pancer said that he sees no conflict in the group's position. "The primary purpose of the ACLU is not to eradicate racism, to get rights for blacks, or to get rights for gays, although we are not opposed to that," he explains. "But we exist to protect the First Amendment for everyone, not any one particular group."

Right wingers, for their part, have come out in force. Besides the Klan, the White Brotherhood, the National States Rights party, the American Rangers, and the Nazi party all have shown support for the transferred Marines. To these groups, the handling of the incident is "another case of discrimination against whites."

The emergence of the Klan in the Corps seems a logical extension of Marine mentality. Extreme patriotism, blind obedience to authority and rigorous combat training are drummed into Marine recruits from day one in boot camp.

The "enemy" is usually a "gook," "chink," or "slopehead," and it is an all too easy extension for white Marines to regard all peoples of color like that.

That racial tension in the Marines escalates into violence is hardly surprising, given this atmosphere where people are highly trained to be violent.

Without meaning to define the situation like that, Klan leader Duke summed it up best. In explaining the various subjects of the Klan, he said, "We have the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Invisible Empire Ku Klux Klan, the Southern Ku Klux Klan, and the United Klansmen of America. We're all Klansmen. It's like the First Marines, the Second Marines, and the Third Marines."

Bill Ritter is a freelance reporter living in the San Diego area.

Tanker explosion triggers fight for harbor safety

By Dave Lindorff

Los Angeles. On Friday, Dec. 17, the Sinsinena, a 70,000-ton tanker unloading light industrial fuel in Los Angeles Harbor, exploded, killing four crewmen and leaving five missing and presumed dead. The blast, which shook buildings 20 miles away, shot flames over 1,000 feet into the sky. It also loosed a tidal wave of popular resistance in the working class communities around the harbor against plans to bring bigger and more dangerous ships and cargoes into their back yards.

One day before the Sinsinena exploded, the Los Angeles City Council had voted overwhelmingly to approve property leases to the Pacific Lighting Corp. for construction of a huge terminal in the crowded harbor to receive liquefied natural gas (LNG) from supertankers.

The council members, overlooking critics' claims that the gas (which must be carried in liquid form at a temperature of -260 degrees F) is highly volatile and hard to contain, listened instead to testi-

mony from Pacific Lighting, the city's gas utility, and representatives from the city harbor commission warning of shortages of natural gas by 1980 and "widespread unemployment" if the terminal was not approved.

Council members ignored a recent Rand Corporation study which said: "In the maximum credible accident—the release of an entire shipload of LNG—a cloud covering several square miles would be formed within five to 20 minutes. This cloud could be ignited when any ignition source contacted its boundary, the resulting fire probably causing severe fire damage. Until ignition or gradual warning and dispersal through the lower atmosphere, the cloud would freeze of asphyxiate any living thing caught in its path."

The council couldn't, however, ignore the Sinsinena. Under popular pressure from residents of the harbor area, the council "reconsidered" its earlier decision. Just one week after its first vote, the council voted 13 to 2 to "delay the final decision" on whether to build the terminal for 120 days.

While few opponents of the plan had

been at the first meeting, after the Sinsinena they were there in numbers. Representatives of the Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation (CAUSE), a local consumer group, local harbor citizens' action groups like the Planning Alliance and several home owners' associations, former senate candidate Tom Hayden and others packed the room.

They watched angrily as council president John Gibson, who represents the harbor area, proposed the delay and said he would not permit any testimony, saying "My concern is not safety, it's economy."

Said CAUSE coordinator Tim Brick, "It's obvious that what the council members are doing is stalling until after municipal elections (in April). Brick noted that the so-called study commission is composed only of members of city agencies. "There are no representatives from the community," he said, "and the city bureaucracy has already shown it's behind the plans."

Brick and CAUSE have tried unsuccessfully to have the city attorney's office investigate possible corruption in the LNG

deal. "Pacific Lighting has really been using its muscle on this one," he said. "They want that terminal facility badly for their tankers."

Town meetings are now being called to map a strategy for preventing construction of the LNG terminal. The specter of a LNG explosion and the smouldering ruins of the Sinsinena have united the people of the harbor area with city-wide environmental and consumer groups.

We want to make sure that when the next tanker explodes it isn't LNG," said Tom Politea of the Planning Alliance, the largest protest group. "We don't want to get blown away with it. But this LNG is just a manifestation of our real problem. It just shows how the city government is not concerned about us, only the harbor. We have to face the question of whether the citizens of the harbor area have a right to determine our own destiny."

Dave Lindorff is an investigative reporter who writes for the L.A. Vanguard.

The United Farm Workers push organizing drive after defeat in California referendum.

'It's tough to fight a two-front war'

By Bill Wallace

The United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO continues to try to build a mass agricultural union, but the battleground once again has changed. In the wake of its failure to secure passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Initiative of 1976 (Proposition 14), the union is regrouping in the farms and fields where it began. Swelled by hundreds of new volunteers recruited during the Proposition 14 campaign, the UFW is beginning a massive drive to sign up 100,000 new members and will petition for representation elections on as many California farms as possible within the next few months.

Returning to field organizing under conditions established by the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (ALRA), Prop 14's predecessor, the UFW is likely to reach its goal of expanding union jurisdiction to cover 75 percent of California's farm laborers. Of 327 representation elections held under ALRA provisions between September 1975 and February 1976, the UFW won 204. They wound up representing nearly 70 percent of all farm workers who cast ballots.

One reason for the union's success is the ALRA's controversial "access rule" allowing union organizers to enter legally a growers' property for up to three hours each day to talk with workers.

A union organizer in industry can stake out the gates of a plant and talk to workers while they enter and leave, but since many agricultural workers live on the farms they work, contacting them is more difficult. Allowing union representatives access to the fields reduces this handicap. Growers opposed the access rule from the start, claiming it was an unlawful violation of the right to private property. They successfully pressured the state legislature to cut off funding for the ALRB, thus cutting off elections in February 1976.

In response, the UFW organized the campaign for Prop 14, which would have replaced the ALRA with a beefed-up version less susceptible to future cutoffs.

Having succeeded in defeating Prop 14, the growers are now mobilizing to restrict the ALRA in ways that will make it harder for the union to repeat its earlier successes. Their efforts already appear to be bearing some fruit.

On Nov. 24 the Agricultural Labor Relations Board cut back the number of days per year organizers could visit workers in the fields under the access rule. Whereas the ALRA had originally allowed year-round access for organizing purposes, the new board ruling restricts union reps to 120 days per year—30 days each during four peak seasons.

A new move to eliminate the access rule entirely was announced Dec. 7 by State Senator John Stull, a conservative Republican from Escondido in largely agricultural San Diego county.

There is little chance that Stull's measure will be adopted, since even such foes of the ALRA as California State Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy (D-S.F.) grudgingly admit that the access rule is appropriate for farm organizing. But Stull's proposal and others like it will be used as tools by the growers to restrict access for union organizers and to hinder the UFW's union-building efforts.

Union officials admit they will be hard put to maintain intensive organizing in the fields at the same time they are fighting agribusiness interests in Sacramento—as one put it, "It's tough to fight a two-front war"—but say they have no choice.

"We'll win, eventually," said Susan Gilkey, a Bay Area boycott coordinator for the UFW. "It's going to take longer than it would have if Prop 14 had passed, but we'll do it. We've been fighting too long to give up now."

Bill Wallace is an investigative reporter from Berkeley.



Dolores Huerta affirms future of U.F.W.

"We don't want all the people who supported and worked for the Farmworkers to view the vote against 14 as a loss."

On election day in November, a proposal heavily backed by the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, Proposition 14, lost overwhelmingly in California—4.3 million against to 2.6 million for. The failure of Prop 14 was widely interpreted as a defeat for the UFW in their decade-old struggle to unionize the nation's farmworkers.

Dolores Huerta, vice president of the UFW, recently talked to *In These Times* correspondent Steve Chapple on the fate of Prop 14 and the future of the UFW. (A longer version of the interview was published in *Common Sense*, published by the Northern California Alliance.)

Do you plan to make any changes in strategy now?

We're just going to continue organizing. It's not a new thing. It's something we've been doing, as you know, for a great many years.

We don't want all the people who supported and worked for the Farmworkers to view the vote against 14 as a loss. It was certainly a big win for the Big Lie. But in terms of the Farmworkers and the law, the fact that the campaign was done, that the union reached many thousands of people who had never been involved before, that agribusiness had to come out publicly in support of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board—it was extremely important since what we started out to protect and secure was the law. The employers had to state that they wanted no change in the law, even though they had spent the last year trying to make damaging amendments to the ALRB.

So you don't think in hindsight that it was a mistake to try for Prop 14 at this time?

We had no choice. The legislature held up the money and we had to go to the

voters. We were acting to protect the law. You can't call it a mistake.

Is the UFW putting more energy into electoral campaigns now? Isn't that a departure from your past strategy of boycotts and direct action?

Let's not say it's a "departure." Let's just say it's something that has to be done. You can't ignore politics because it's ever present. When you have the growers using the legislative process to try to destroy the union and laws like the ALRB that protect the union, then you have to get into it.

You've been with the UFW almost from the beginning—have the goals changed?

I wouldn't say so. The original goal was to bring farmworkers into the union, to make them more active in their lives on the farms and in the community too. The goals are very much the same.

If anything, they've been clarified. We didn't use to think about non-violence; it was just part of it. Now it's a very big part of the movement. The battle against racism has been more ingrained in the movement. The lifestyle—organizers working for \$5 a week and expenses—wasn't planned; it just happened. The idea of sacrifice, too. These are things that evolved and have become part of the movement.

As you know, we are a socialist paper. If the UFW is successful in the coming years, would the union expand to work for some sort of socialist goals.

We don't go by labels. They don't mean anything. People use them for a lot of different purposes, and sometimes only for their own purposes.

We are committed to justice and to social justice. We're for poor people and we fight for people working for their own justice, not for people handing down a philosophy to them. We have faith that the farmworkers create their own political philosophy and that they will carry it out.

When you ask me a question like that, I can't give you the answer you want.

Another way of asking it would be this: do the long-range goals of the Farmworkers, in your mind, include fighting against corporate control of America?

That's what we're doing now, right? Trying to give a little bit of the pot back to the workers. If the goal is somehow to develop in a humanistic way against greed, then that might be a similar philosophy to ours. But it's got to be done with some element of sacrifice for the people involved.

UFW alive and well in Salinas

Los Angeles. Despite a shooting and threatened firings, the workers at the Arakelian Farms near Blythe, Calif., stood solidly with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers in the first election held in the "second round" of elections under California Agricultural Labor Relations Board supervision.

The election on Dec. 15 came just two weeks after the ALRB took the padlocks off its area offices, abruptly closed on Feb. 6 due to a lack of funds. At Arakelian Farms the UFW received 139 votes, with only 12 voting against union representation.

In 1973 the Arakelian workers had demanded union representation by the UFW, but the company, like almost all others in the Imperial Valley, had refused and the workers were forced to go on strike. In an attempt to undercut the UFW, the Arakelian management then signed an agreement with the Teamsters. That contract expired in 1975 and the Arakelian workers apparently thought so little of it that the Teamsters were unable to get 20 percent of them to sign cards to permit the union to be on the Dec. 12 ballot.

In the second and third representation elections the UFW also emerged victorious. On Dec. 21 row crop work-

ers at the Jack Bros. and McBurney Ranch near Brawley voted for the UFW 40 to 30.

On Dec. 23 the workers at the West Foods mushroom plant in Soquel in the Salinas area voted almost two to one for the UFW.

The outcome of the early votes in this second round confirms the claims of the UFW that the failure of the union and its allies to win Prop 14 via the initiative process last November will not affect the loyalty of farm workers to the union.

Further elections are already scheduled, as well as the resolution by the ALRB of a series of disputed elections from the first round (September 1975 to February 1976). Hearings on many of these disputed elections are due to be held next month.

—Sam Kushner

Sam Kushner is the author of *Long Road to Delano* and is a labor reporter and commentator on radio station KPFA in Los Angeles.

Brown optimistic about union talks

Los Angeles. Cesar Chavez publicly revealed on Dec. 22 that the United Farm Workers and the Teamsters union have been secretly meeting during recent weeks and that he was "extremely optimistic" that a jurisdictional a-

greement would be reached following the holidays.

Meetings between Teamsters officials and the UFW have been taking place intermittently since April. In recent weeks the pace of the talks has been stepped up. No comment was forthcoming from any Teamsters officials.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown appears to be the key to the current talks. He has had representatives in many of the joint negotiations between the unions, which have been battling in the fields for most of the past decade. On three previous occasions since 1966 the Teamsters and the UFW have reached jurisdictional agreements. On each occasion the UFW charged the Teamsters with breaking the agreement. This agreement, however, comes about following massive Teamster defeats in representation elections in the fields.

It also comes several months before an impending battle for representation in the Delano area, where the Teamsters were credited with winning the largest number of elections last year. At that time the UFW charged massive violations of the new California farm labor law and filed a large number of unfair labor practice charges, many of which are still pending.

Gov. Brown said that he too is "optimistic that the latest talks will bring about an agreement between the parties."

IN THE WORLD

PLO ready to compromise?

By Ian Lustick
Pacific News Service

The Palestinian movement has reached a crisis point that may be resolved when the governing body of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) meets in Cairo in January.

There are indications that the PLO leadership is ready for compromise—if Israel will negotiate.

•In a recent interview, chief PLO foreign affairs spokesman Farouk Kaddoumi said that if a Palestinian state is established in the West Bank or Gaza Strip, "we stop armed struggle."

•In early November, a PLO radio station, quoting a senior Palestinian source, reported that the "doves" intended to present a proposal to recognize Israel before the Palestinian National Council at its Cairo meeting.

•The PLO has declared it will no longer use Lebanon as a base for guerilla operations—in effect abandoning its strategy of protracted guerilla war against Israel.

•And finally, Arab analysts are predicting that Egypt and Syria, now acting under a "united political leadership" to strengthen their hand in negotiations with Israel, will try to bring the PLO under their wing as well.

►End to United Arab support.

The mood for compromise among PLO leaders is due not only to recent defeats in the Lebanese civil war, but to the systematic erosion over the past six years of three key assumptions behind the PLO strategy of guerilla war.

First, the leadership of Fatah—by far the largest of the guerilla organizations allied within the PLO—assumed that economic, political and military support would always be available from the Arab states.

Second, Fatah assumed the Palestinians themselves would stand united behind the goal of destroying the state of Israel and returning Palestine to its former residents.

First to give out was united support from the Arab states.

Until September 1970 Jordan served as central base for Palestinian raids into Israel and the occupied West Bank. But in "Black" September Jordan's King Hussein cracked down on the Palestinian guer-

illas, all but eliminating their presence in savage fighting.

But in "Black" September Jordan's King Hussein cracked down on the Palestinian guerillas, all but eliminating their presence in savage fighting.

Egypt, Syria and Jordan then accepted UN resolution 242 calling for a peace settlement involving secure and recognized borders for all states in the area.

The Yom Kippur War of 1973 was initiated by the Arab states not, as in 1967, to destroy Israel, but to pressure Israel into trading territories it occupied in 1967 for peace agreements with its Arab neighbors.

In the wake of the Geneva negotiations between Israel and the Arab states in 1974, only Iraq, Libya and Yemen—none of which shares borders with Israel—still call for the complete destruction of the Jewish state.

►Acceptance front grows.

An equally big blow to the PLO has been the support given to the Arab moderates by the 1.1 million Palestinians living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Though they deeply resent the occupation and have supported thousand of acts of resistance against it, these Palestinians have learned to coexist with the Israelis.

Since 1969 their representatives have consistently called on the PLO to abandon its commitment to a secular Arab state in all of Palestine. Instead they favor—as both a realistic and an acceptable alternative—an independent Arab state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"Of course we long for a great Palestinian state," Fahd Kawasme, mayor of the West Bank Arab city of Hebron, said recently. "But since Israel is opposed to it we shall settle for a state in the occupied territories."

These Arabs form the backbone of what has come to be known as the PLO's "Acceptance Front," which now includes most of Fatah's leadership and represents the mainstream of Palestinian opinion.

Opposed by George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and other small radical groups who together make up the "Rejection Front," the Acceptance Front is willing to live with Israel in exchange for an Arab state in part of Palestine.

The Acceptance Front would never have acknowledged Israel's right to exist

if it still viewed Israel's destruction as a realistic goal.

The U.S., by conducting a massive airlift of arms to Israel during the 1973 war and by going to the brink of a crisis with the Soviet Union on Israel's behalf, demonstrated its firm commitment to Israel's survival.

And Israel's unquestioned (though formally unconfirmed) nuclear capability means that a real threat to its existence would result in the incineration of large portions of the Arab world.

►Israel the stumbling block.

The rise of moderates within the Arab states and the PLO does not mean, however, that a separate Palestinian state is soon in the offing or that "peace is at hand" in the Mideast.

The Rejection Front is still strong, supported financially and militarily by Iraq and Libya. A recent series of terrorist attacks in Syria and Jordan have demon-

strated their determination to sabotage any formal Palestinian effort to achieve a peaceful solution with Israel.

And Israel's position could still be a major stumbling block. As long as Israel refuses to acknowledge even the possibility of negotiating with the PLO, the Palestinian National Council is not likely to indicate formal willingness to compromise and risk almost certain detections or large numbers of guerillas.

If Israel's line does soften, then the Palestinian moderates could make the Cairo meeting a turning point in Arab-Israeli relations. As Anwar Sadat said in a recent interview, "The Palestinian question is the whole core, the crux of the problem. If we are not going to solve it, we are not going to have the peace we are after now."

Ian Lustick, an assistant professor in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College, is a Mideast specialist and the author of an upcoming book on the Arabs in Israel.



Rabin resigns: Israel faces new elections

By Russ Stettin
Internews

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's late-December decision to expel the right-wing members of his governing coalition and to resign and call early elections will test the popularity of the Labor government's traditional reliance on the U.S. The results of the general election, now expected in May or June, could well be determined by the early positions of the Carter administration on aid to Israel and Mideast diplomacy.

Israel's ties to the U.S. provided the symbolic issue over which Rabin took his actions. In mid-December the ultra-right accused Rabin of desecrating the Sabbath by allowing an official ceremony to go on past sunset on a Friday. The ceremony celebrated the arrival of new American F-15 jets. When the right tabled a motion of no confidence against the government over the desecration issue, Rabin's forces tried to mobilize all the factions in their ruling coalition, but could not gain

"The popularity of Israel's Labor government in the spring general election could well be determined by the early positions of the Carter administration on aid to Israel."

the support of the pivotal National Religious party—a group that has participated in every governing coalition since the founding of Israel.

Nine of the NRP's 10 members of parliament abstained on the crucial vote—including two of the party's three cabinet ministers. Rabin narrowly survived the no-confidence vote, but he felt it would be politically dangerous to go on governing on the basis of such a shaky alliance. Rather than give the NRP a chance to topple the government by resigning at the next showdown, Rabin chose to step down in favor of a caretaker government that will carry on until new elections can be held.

►Israeli expansion on issue.

The NRP had frequently clashed with

Rabin over the future of the West Bank. The NRP favors expansion of Israel's borders to include the biblical shrines of the West Bank and has supported right-wing squatters who have tried to settle there in defiance of the Rabin government. The Ford administration made clear to Israel that it opposed the annexation of the West Bank.

Rabin and his supporters in the Labor alignment believe it is suicidal for Israel to alienate Washington. They count on the U.S. to coordinate with them in continuing to oppose a PLO presence at the next round of Mideast peace talks, and they hope that the new Carter administration will restore their fiscal 1978 aid to the requested \$2.3 billion level—instead of the \$1.5 billion figure recommended by

President Ford. Rabin has effectively ruled out substantive peace talks since his caretaker government has no mandate, but he apparently hopes for a non-substantive meeting at Geneva that will permit him to campaign as the candidate leading the search for peace.

Whatever the early signs from the Carter administration, the Israeli electorate is more divided and less predictable than ever before. A public opinion survey published in Tel Aviv two weeks ago indicated that 39 percent of the population is prepared to accept PLO participation in the Geneva peace talks, but so far there is no major force in mainstream politics putting that option before the electorate. The main choices will be very conservative: Rabin, campaigning on his friendship with Washington and his right-wing critics, seeking votes with dreams of expansion and tough-minded independence. Both sides will be promising peace—something neither big-power diplomacy nor military conquest is likely to deliver in the reality of the seventies.

IN THE WORLD

World Environmental Issues



Photo by John Judis

Australian unions foil corporate developers

They block uranium mining, destruction of parks and worker homes, and fight highrises and freeways.

By John Judis

While trade unionists and environmentalists in the U.S. are at each other's throats over nuclear power, highrise construction and pollution, in Australia the two forces have joined hands.

At the urging of environmentalists, the Australian Council of Trades Unions passed a resolution last year banning the mining, handling and export of uranium until a full public discussion takes place on the dangers of nuclear power. This year, when a Queensland train guard was fired for stopping a uranium shipment, a national strike got him his job back.

Australia's Builders Labourers union began in 1971 to impose "green bans" on environmentally unsound development projects. This fall Melbourne construction workers refused to build a new power station that environmentalists estimated would have increased the city's pollution by 20 percent.

Much responsibility for the labor-environmentalist alliance has to go to the Australian Communist party and to Jack Mundey, a 42-year-old Communist who from 1968 to 1974 headed the 40,000 member New South Wales branch of the union. Last month Mundey was in the U.S. at the behest of the World Wildlife Fund. *In These Times* talked to him about the Australian efforts.

►Green bans imposed.

Australian unions have always been "more politicized than the unions in the U.S.," says Mundey. During the Vietnam war, Australian workers refused to load ships bound for Vietnam.

The Builders Labourers union, however was an exception. Its corruption and bureaucratic insensitivity to the rank and file rivaled some American unions.

In the mid-1960s union activists began a campaign to "cleanse and civilize" the

union, which culminated in 1968 in Mundey's election to the presidency of the New South Wales branch.

As president, Mundey introduced into the union the new political direction being developed by the Australian Communist party. The Australian party, along with the Italian, Spanish and Japanese parties, had broken with Soviet orthodoxy after the 1968 Czechoslovakian invasion, and adopted a new program emphasizing democracy and workers' control as essential to socialism. The party also attempted to incorporate into its work the insights of the women's, gay liberation and ecology movements.

Under Mundey's leadership, the union struck when the administration at Sydney University refused to let women run a women's studies program and when a student at Macquarie University was expelled for being a homosexual. In their contracts, they also demanded that wages of skilled and unskilled workers be equalized.

In 1971, Mundey gave a speech at a union conference in Sydney in which he argued that unions would have to go beyond the issues of wages and working conditions, they would have to be concerned about what he called the "social responsibility of labor" for its products. After the speech, the union was approached by Sydney suburbanites who were trying to stop luxury homes from being built on Kelly's bush, one of Sydney's last remaining forest-parks.

While some in the union argued, according to Mundey, "What should we do for these middle class shits," Mundey argued that the union had to be consistent in its principles. The union voted to agree to stop the development if a public meeting of Sydney citizens supported the decision. When a meeting of 700 demanded an end to the development, the union enforced its first "green ban."

►Proletarian town planners.

The action at Kelly's Bush sparked growing cooperation between the union and citizen groups. "We were then inundated with requests from citizens' groups to take action," Mundey says. After they received a request they would always ask the citizens' group to call a public meeting. "The thing that got us a lot of support," Mundey explains, "was that the

union was not arrogantly imposing bans, but every ban was proposed only after there had been thoroughgoing discussion at a public meeting."

In succeeding years, the union refused to demolish 25,000 workers' homes to make way for a network of freeways and they blocked the creation of a parking lot that would have torn up Sydney's botanical gardens. When private developers decided to erect commercial highrises and hotels on Sydney's historic Rocks area where many workers lived, the union refused and together with the residents drew up a counter plan for development. During 1971 to 1974, the union held up \$4 billion worth of private development.

In 1974, Mundey stepped down as president of the union. During his tenure, the union had passed a rule limiting office holders to six years in order to prevent entrenched bureaucracies. Another Communist was elected in his place, but was not to remain long in office.

The union's actions had aroused fierce opposition among Australian businesspeople and rightwing trade unionists. Newspaper editorials had advised the union to stick to wages and conditions and not to let itself become a "tool of the Communists." Conservative politicians decried the "proletarian town planners."

In 1975, the employers' association in cooperation with the federal leadership of the Builders Labourers union conspired to destroy the New South Wales branch. Employers contracted directly with the federal union, which set itself up in opposition to the provincial branch. Some workers, seeing they had no choice left the New South Wales branch. Fearing the loss of any union power, the New South Wales branch capitulated by urging its members to join the federal union.

Reabsorbed into the federal union, the New South Wales branch was given new leadership, and Mundey was expelled along with other Communists. But while the leadership is not now as "environmentally conscious," in Mundey's words, the green bans have remained in effect. "The reason for this," Mundey says, "is that other unions have now imposed them and community values have changed. I don't think there is anybody now who would suggest cutting up the botanical gardens to build a carpark."

Sweden's nuclear power remains unchecked

Newly elected government breaks promise to develop nuclear energy alternatives

By Thomas Galazan

In Sweden nuclear power was a key issue in the Sept. 19 defeat of the ruling Social Democrat party, which had favored nuclear power, by a coalition of the more conservative Center, Liberal and Moderate parties.

But the new government has already dashed the hopes of nuclear opponents by endorsing the operation of Sweden's five existing plants and backing the construction of others.

►A promise to shutdown plants.

Nuclear power became a major issue in the closing weeks of the election campaign as Thorbjorn Falldin, leader of the Center party and now Prime Minister, cited nuclear dangers and said he would eventually shut down Sweden's five operating nuclear plants and halt the government's program to build a total of 13 reactors by 1985.

Falldin called for diverting investment funds from nuclear power to a large energy-saving program and to research on solar, geothermal, wind and other alternative energy sources.

During a nationwide television debate, Falldin hammered at then Prime Minister Olof Palme, "Can you stand here this evening on this platform," he asked Palme, "and guarantee that you give the generation of today, to coming generations, a better society, when you want to give them a nuclear power society?"

Young voters, educated with an awareness of environmental values, apparently turned against the Social Democrats over the issue of nuclear power. A recent law lowering the minimum voting age from 20 to 18 resulted in 480,000 new voters in the September elections.

Politicians and the Swedish press alike attribute the Social Democrat defeat to the nuclear issue. Outgoing Prime Minister Palme said, "What turned the election was the nuclear power issue. It may not have been the central issue, but without the campaign being concentrated on it in the past two weeks, we would have won."

►The greatest fraud.

Although Falldin's Center party backed nuclear curbs, the other two parties in the coalition strongly endorsed the plants. Nevertheless, before the election Falldin declared that if the moderates and liberals wanted to join the Center party in a nonsocialist coalition, "They will have

to do it on our terms...I realize that you must leave yourself open to compromise. But I will never compromise on nuclear energy."

On Oct. 8, however, Falldin's new government presented a program to parliament allowing the five existing reactors to remain in operation and authorizing work to continue on seven other reactors under construction or in the planning stage. It also proposed approval of fuel loading for Barseback 2, a nuclear unit Falldin specifically declared would never become functional.

Similarly, the coalition government announced legislation in early December promoting operation of the five existing plants and Barseback 2, as well as approving continued construction of four more.

The legislation would also provide for government-guaranteed loans for plants under construction and assign responsibility for solving nuclear waste disposal problems to the State Power Board, which has either total or majority interest in the four plants being built.

"The reaction among environmentalists and politicians in Sweden has been very strong," says Bjorn Gillberg of the Swedish Environmental Center. Palme called Falldin's behavior "the greatest fraud in political history."

►Opposition grows.

While Sweden derives about 70 percent of its electricity from hydropower, nuclear plants contribute about 13 percent, giving Sweden the most ambitious nuclear program on a per capita basis in the world. Opposition to the plants has been steadily growing, with opinion polls showing a majority of Swedes against nuclear energy if alternatives exist.

In the face of Falldin's rejection of his pre-election stance, it is uncertain whether Swedish activists will revert to traditional forms of nuclear opposition or undertake a more militant approach, such as organizing huge occupations of nuclear construction sites, similar to those that have rocked West Germany, Switzerland and France.

Underground actions opposing nuclear power may also increase. In late November, Swedish police reported finding more than 50 pounds of explosives near the Ringhals nuclear construction site on Sweden's West Coast. A newspaper had received a letter saying: "We have planted explosives near the Ringhals nuclear plant. This is our last warning. Next time the plant will be leveled to the ground."

Thomas Galazan is a freelance writer in Turtle Lake, Wisconsin, who works with Northern Thunder, a northern Wisconsin group concerned with environmental issues.

IN SHORT

China steps backward?

Speaking Dec. 28 at a national farm conference, Hua Kuo-Feng, the chairman of the Chinese Communist party, promised a "movement of consolidation and rectification throughout the party at an opportune time next year." According to the *New York Times* Hua also called for promoting economic growth through better management, tighter factory discipline, harder work, more technical training, improved accounting procedures and some higher wages.

Hua's speech takes China a step further from the programs and goals of the Cultural Revolution. Instead of attacking the party's monopoly of power, Hua seems to be consolidating it through purges. Instead of moral or collective incentives to promote production, Hua seems to be reverting to wage increases. Instead of encouraging worker participation in production, Hua stresses the role of management and experts.

David Milton, a co-author of *The Wind Will Not Subside*, a study of the Cultural Revolution, sees the attack against the "gang of four," particularly Chiang Ch'ing, who was widely disliked for her dogmatic approach to the arts, as a pretext for turning away from the Cultural Revolution.

"When the attack against the four began," Milton told *In These Times*, there was a certain joy because they were getting away from the dogmatism. That was the carrot. Now this is the other side of it. But I think they'll have trouble."

Recently there have been reports of growing opposition to Hua's policies. In the *Manchester Guardian*, Victor Zorza cites public opposition in Wuhan, a major industrial center, where the military commander has denounced posters that have "viciously attacked Chairman Hua." He also cites the dispatch of 12,000 troops to Fukien province and a broadcast from Kiangsi Province in which "resistance in all forms" was reported.

Armed conflict has been reported in the northern city of Peking, which has included factories being blown up, raids on military arsenals and robberies from banks. The *People's Daily* blames the unrest on the "gang of four," Reuters reports.

Sino-Soviet talks rumored

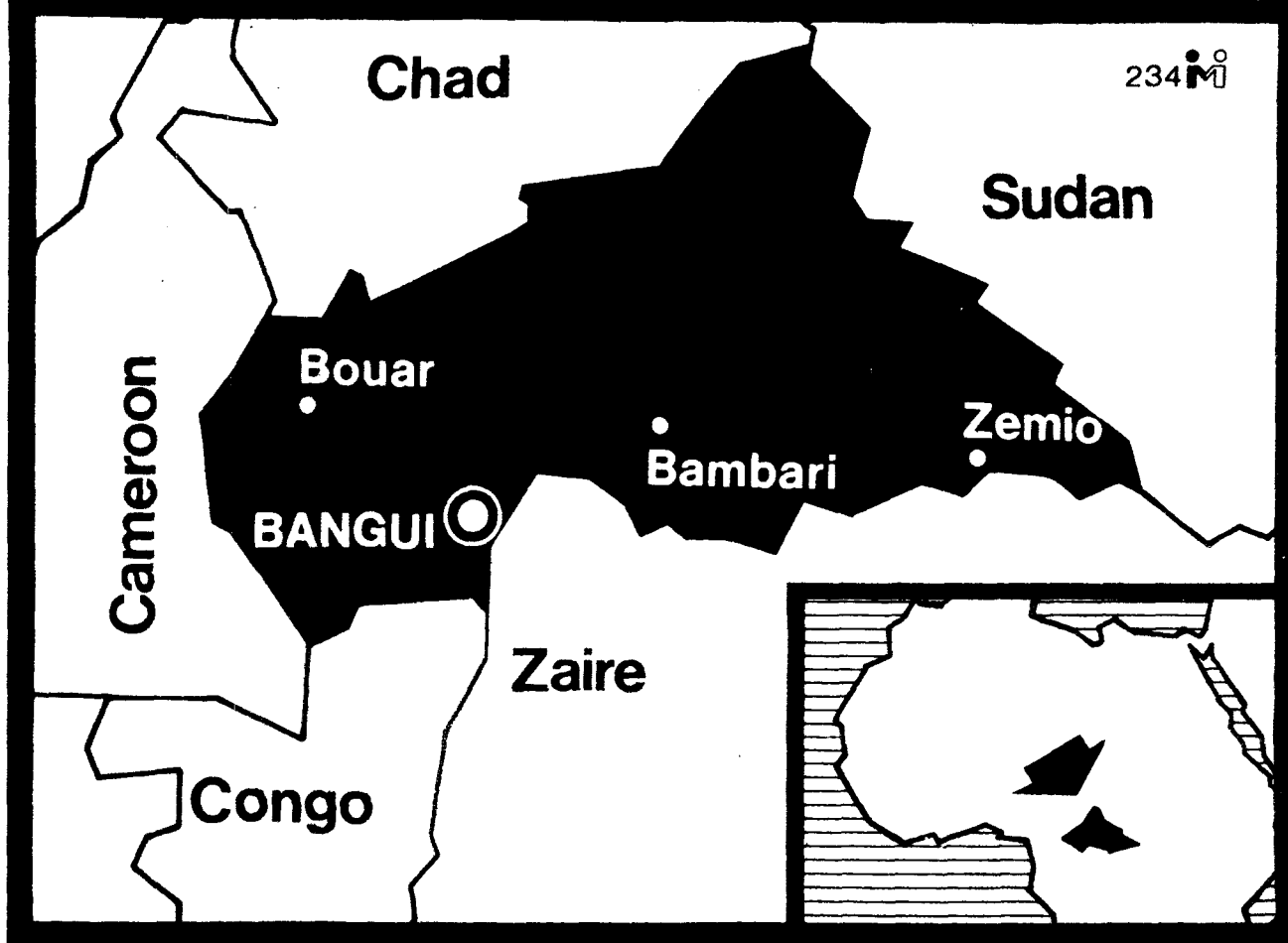
Since Mao's death there has been widespread speculation that the new Chinese leadership would attempt to mend its fences with the Soviet Union. But in the weeks after Mao died, the Chinese ignored several Soviet overtures. At an official banquet Nov. 15, Li Hsien-nien, widely believed to be the leading candidate for prime minister if Hua Kuo-Feng leaves that post, denounced the Soviet overtures as an example of "wishful thinking."

But in the last week, speculation has given way to rumors. A joint conference of Soviet and American Asian scholars that was to take place in Berkeley was postponed because, it is rumored, the Soviets did not want to do anything to aggravate secret Chinese-Soviet talks that are going on. The Soviets are also rumored now to have offered to withdraw a division from the Chinese border in order to open the climate for talks to begin.

But the rumors may also be an attempt by both sides to use the threat of rapprochement to pressure the Carter administration. The Chinese hope Carter will go beyond the Shanghai agreement, and the Soviets hope to work out trade and disarmament agreements.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

200 mls



Diana Johnstone

The Emperor Bokassa

French colonialism's latest gift to Africa

According to Radio Bangui, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was the first head of state to send congratulations to Jean Bedel Bokassa on his self-decreed promotion from "President-for-Life" to "Emperor" of what will now be called the Central African Empire. Like Napoleon, Bokassa crowned himself. But it was France that made him what he is today.

Grotesque boasts, especially after heavy drinking, are a specialty of military men, to be found in the oldest epic poems. A few days before Bokassa appointed himself Emperor, his fellow dictator Idi Amin of Uganda announced that he was King of Scotland. As a clown, Amin is clearly the more gifted. But the two men have a lot in common. Both are products of European colonial armies. Bokassa is French colonialism's gift to Africa just as Amin was bestowed on hapless Uganda by the British.

Recruited at the age of 18, Bokassa spent 23 years in the French Army, which rewarded him with the rank of captain and the first 15 of the collection of medals he regularly displays on his chest. It was the French colonial army that taught him to worship decorations, titles and rank; that gave him the taste for ordering people around. It was the French colonial army—in Indochina—that taught him to kill, terrorize and "interrogate" rebellious peasants. It was 23 years of military life that made him an ignorant, arrogant bully.

A large number of native Frenchmen with that sort of past finish their days as clochards, with only a bottle of cheap wine and the metro to keep them warm, having learned no peacetime skills besides drinking. Bokassa has ended up ruling a country, but that too is thanks to France.

►Poor country cousin.

The new "Empire" was one of the very latest pieces of the African jigsaw puzzle to be filled in by the European colonial empires, whose outer reaches arbitrarily became the boundaries of this territory that for centuries was a blank spot on the map. It has neither history nor ethnic unity; its sparse population of less than two million apparently having migrated to its highland savannas over the centuries to escape from the wars or slave trade

carried on by the more organized and "historical" polities to the east and west.

France took this left-over piece of darkest Africa, along with what are now the countries of Congo and Gabon. Inaccessible, too underpopulated to provide the work force white settlers demand in order to farm in such a hot climate, it was on the whole a pretty worthless piece of real estate, producing only small quantities of cotton and peanuts for export.

When DeGaulle granted formal independence to France's African colonies in 1960, the territory, named the Central African (or Centrafrican) Republic by its designated head of state, Barthélemy Boganda, a former priest, hoped to unite with the other territories of French Equatorial Africa. But neither Gabon nor Congo saw any advantage in being tied to their poor country cousin, and Centrafrica was left stranded.

►Warding off the "yellow peril."

Boganda was killed in a plane crash on the eve of formal independence. As a result of this accident, his 30-year-old cousin David Dacko took charge of the government in Bangui. In an effort to bring his country out of its almost total isolation and perhaps attract some technical aid suited to the real needs of the population of such a poor and totally undeveloped land, Dacko established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1964.

Western diplomats (who in that part of the world tend to be intelligence agents of the "operational" variety) professed to be very shocked. Dacko's "immaturity" caused them great concern, and rumors of yellow hordes subjugating Africa spread across the continent. Jacques Foccart, who as DeGaulle's minister to the Community (the French version of the Commonwealth) continued to rule France's African empire through his intricate web of secret agents ("barbouzes"), was a specialist in solving such problems. On Jan. 1, 1966, Bokassa, who had been conveniently put in charge of the young country's army, overthrew Dacko's government and took power himself. One of the first things he did—and the only one that mattered—was to shut down the Chinese embassy in Bangui.

Since then, Bokassa has found little to

do in his backwater domain other than confer ever more grandiose titles on himself, keep an eye out for plotters who might try to overthrow him and inveigle "development aid" out of rich countries with which to maintain the style of life to which he has become more and more accustomed.

►God's uranium.

After naming himself "President-for-Life" and running through all the existing military ranks up to and including Field Marshal, Bokassa took a new tack and renamed himself Salak Eddin Ahmed (defender of the faith) as he converted to Islam under the influence of Libya's Colonel Kadhafi, who presented Centrafrica with thousands of Korans and several Mosques. But he has dropped that title now to play emperor.

Last year, President Giscard d'Estaing paid a state visit to the tyrant, exchanging flatteries and kisses with Bokassa and soon thereafter lending him \$20 million to save Centrafrica from bankruptcy. Bokassa is estimated to spend a third of the country's budget on high living. He has purchased several residences in France, including a villa on the Riviera and a chateau in the Loire valley. He keeps two jets continually ready to take off at Bangui airport to whisk him to his luxurious retirement on that likely day when some conspiracy eludes his suspicious vigilance.

Meanwhile, Bokassa can annoy himself God (there is little else left) and the French president may send him a message of congratulations, for the simple reason that somewhere in Centrafrican territory lie uranium deposits. France has committed itself to a program of nuclear power plants that depend on uranium, almost all of which must be obtained in Africa.

The U.S. is beginning to muscle in on Foccart's old empire, and it is not impossible that by the time the appallingly expensive nuclear power plants have disfigured the French countryside and are ready to begin their dangerous operations, France will have trouble finding the necessary uranium. Bokassa is no crazier than the rest of the people who are running things on this poor planet.

Diana Johnstone is a native of Minnesota and formerly taught French literature at the University of Minnesota. She now works as a journalist in Paris.

His words danced

A new narrative of his youthful travels

SEEDS OF MAN

By Woody Guthrie
E.P. Dutton & Co., New York

Woody Guthrie, America's hobo troubador, was 17 years old when the stock-market crash of 1929 ushered in the Great Depression.

Economic crisis, drought and dust storms spelled disaster for thousands of his relatives and neighbors in Oklahoma, the Texas Panhandle and much of the Mid and Southwest. Faced with bankruptcy and foreclosure, these farmers and 'croppers had no choice but to gather up their families and a few belongings and hit the road. Most drifted westward toward California, where, according to current popular song, "...you can sleep out every night...and...the water tastes like cherry wine."

Woody ducked into this river of jalopies, hobos and hitch-hikers and spent the next 20 years wandering the (then) 48 states and most of the seven seas, never straying far from the hard-callused people who scrap out a living at the bottom of the heap. He was seldom without a pencil or a guitar, and in these years produced songs, poems and stories enough to fill a library.

Some of his songs, such as "This Land Is Your Land" and "So Long; It's Been Good to Know You" have worked themselves down so far into the fabric of American folk song that people will swear to you they are as old as the hills. Out in Oregon, every school kid learns "Roll On, Columbia" along with Yankee Doodle and Three Blind Mice.

Woody died in 1964, after 15 years' hospitalization for Huntington's Chorea, an incurable neurological disease. The disease slowly stifled his art and finally stopped his life at the age of 55.

From the papers Woody left behind, four books have been made. The best of them, *Bound for Glory*, is an autobiographical novel of his early years in Oklahoma and Texas. (It is the only one published before his hospitalization.) *Woody*

Sez is a collection of columns written for the West Coast radical *Daily People's World*. *Born to Win* is a potpourri of poems, sketches, doodles, letters, drawings and midnight meditations; a fascinating sampler of the best and the worst of an honest writer.

Now comes *Seeds of Man*, an unfinished prose narrative, assembled by William Dorflinger from three different versions written by Woody over a 10-year period.

The story is based on an experience of Woody's youth, and many of the characters, drawn from real models, will be familiar to Guthrie fans and historians. Papa Charlie, Uncle Jeff, the fiddler, and young Woody are involved in a doomed search for a lost (and possibly non-existent) gold and silver mine. But as the characters become involved in other projects (principally erotic), the dream of bonanza fades into the background. Folk eloquence becomes the main attraction.

Studs Terkel has written that the "words danced off the pages when Woody sat at the typewriter." There are signs of this intoxication with language in all Woody's writing.

Seeds of Man is rich with the style and metaphor of ordinary people's speech, studded with similes, puns, banter, and cheerful profanity: the kind of folk-talk that makes polite conversation pale.

For those who knew Woody only as a political crusader, or as Poet Laureate of the Dust Bowl refugees, *Seeds of Man* may come as a surprise and even a disappointment. But for those of his fans who always suspected that the incurable romantic lurked just beneath the surface of Woody's rough rhetoric, this latest—probably last—Guthrie book will be savory fare.

—Joe Stevenson and Gehla Knight

Joe Stevenson is a long-time Guthrie fan and the writer/director/producer of *A Tribute to Woody Guthrie* which played successfully in small theaters in Oregon, where he lives. Gehla Knight is a writer who lives in Astoria, Oregon.

Will the real Woody Guthrie please stand up!

He lives on in a new book, on the silver screen, in his old home and through a foundation that bears his



His old house: writing on the wall pays tribute

They hitch-hike from all over to the home of the poet of the people.



Guthrie's house in Okemah, Oklahoma

Anyone in Okemah, Okla., can tell you where Woody Guthrie's old house is—where he lived until age 15. When you get there, you find you could have seen it from Interstate 40 all along—a white frame house on a rock foundation, sturdier than they make most of them now. Still standing strong after having been deserted for over 30 years, with all the doors and window frames ripped out.

People have been coming on pilgrimage to the house since at least 1965. They hitch to Okemah and unroll their sleeping bags on the floor of Woody's house. Then they unpack their guitars and sing some of his songs. When they leave in the morning, they write a message for Woody on the walls.

Woody wrote several hundred songs (as well as an intermittent column for the Communist Party's *Daily Worker*), many of which are known to millions of people in the United States and other countries. Yet the only monument to him in Okemah is "Home of Woody Guthrie" painted on the town's water tank.

►Apathy, not hostility.

"I was in Okemah for a year as an editorial writer for the *Okemah Daily Leader*," says Patricia "Oro" Briscoe. "I wrote editorials back in 1961, asking for the city and the library board to consent to having a room in the city library dedicated to Woody Guthrie. A member of his family was going to give us Woody's first guitar and all of the hand-written manuscripts—

the songs he wrote as he traveled around—to put in the memorial room.

"People just weren't interested. Hostile is too strong a word. Apathy is a small town's strongest weapon."

►Woody sings to the young.

Young people still hitch to Woody's house, the kind of young people who are touched most powerfully by his songs, those whose glory, joy and misery is to go on the road from job to job. Woody wrote of their loneliness in songs like this one about the encounter of a young transient and a B-girl:

*Not a soul knows me in town,
I'm a stranger hereabouts.
I did ache to feel your hot hand touching mine.
But when you came up to me
And said, "Partner buy the drinks,"
Your hand felt colder than the night outside.*

At the same time his songs offer them the hope of comradeship and the unity of all workers as in Tom Joad's farewell to his mother in one of Woody's ballads:

*Everybody might be just one big soul.
It looks that way to me.
So wherever you look in the day or the night
That's where I'm a-gonna be.*

►It's warm in Woody's house.

Walt Peralle, Vietnam vet, one of the only three survivors in his Marine company, is one of those who have made the journey to Woody's house.

"People come by and say hello to Woody. They don't need to have a tourist place selling Woody Guthrie souvenirs," Walt says. "All they need to do is

just fix up the porches. It's you really feel comfortable in house even though it's cold as the wind is blowing. There's around there. It's warm."

►Messages on the walls.

All over the walls of Woody's house are the messages. Okemah school kids come out in the house to get away from and they have left the word "fuc" number of places. By one of the ties someone has written:

"I wonder what drove some to write the terrible things they c? Don't they know this is the home of the poet of the people?"

Other messages on the wall include: "Will Rogers made me feel A" Woody Guthrie makes me feel home."

—Butch Galello, New Rochelle
"Woody, I got this feeling t' to come and see your old home, understand until this morning when you. I believe in you, God, and i
—Pam Williams,

"Woody, the better world about may not be a reality yet, love for you that these writings leaves me with a more optimistic for a better, universal humanistic You are always living in your poems. The world was lucky to h smile—even for a short time."

—Alicia Pope—Kathlee
Seattle, Wash. 7

Walt Peralle adds: "That's the It's a heavy damn place. You g there if you're into Woody at all. ing back there. I told him that."

—Jody C

Bound for Glory: too cool about a bad time

"There's an almost fanatical attention to the authenticity of detail. Nothing is out of joint—except reality."

BOUND FOR GLORY

Directed by Hal Ashby; screenplay by Robert Getchell, based on Woody Guthrie's autobiography, *Bound for Glory*.

With David Carradine as Woody Guthrie
Rated PG

Bound for Glory is a strangely mild film about one of the most turbulent and painful periods in modern American history. Strictly speaking, the story is an account of four years in the life of Woody Guthrie (David Carradine), America's most famous folksinger, who gave voice to the indestructible spirit of youth during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The filmmakers have come to their subject in a mood of cool, remote sweetness that is very puzzling. It's puzzling because there's an almost fanatical attention to the authenticity of detail in this film. The clothes look right; the landscapes look right; the trains, the cars, the houses, the furniture, the language. Nothing is out of joint—except reality.

There's a veil of prettiness drawn across the image that makes the whole thing nostalgic. Anyone who can get nostalgic for the mid '30s hasn't been able to get his head or his heart around this material.

►Reality was not so pretty.

One-third of the work force of the United States of America was unemployed. There were hundreds of people available for every job. Shape ups were the standard way of hiring in the field, at the factory, or on the docks. Small independent farmers and businessmen had lost their all to the banks, and then the banks had closed. Entire families were on the road, not drifting but looking for a place where a living could be earned. Like squads of ghosts, men materialized at the back doors of restaurants after closing hours to collect left-over food. Encampments called "Hoover-villes," built of scrap lumber, packing boxes, and flattened tin cans, appeared on the outskirts of most U.S. cities.

Goon squads—legally deputized thugs who protected private property against



David Carradine as Guthrie and Melinda Dillon as his wife, Mary, in *Bound for Glory*

hungry, angry people—were the law and order of the day.

►No real bite.

In a sense, it's all there in this film. But we see it through the wrong end of a telescope. It is so generalized that it scarcely matters. There's no real bite. The radicalizing of Woody Guthrie happens at arm's length, and so you never really quite believe it.

The film begins in the Dust Bowl of the Texas Panhandle in 1936 or '37. Woody is married, has two children, is out of work. He earns a bit here and there, painting signs, playing his guitar at country dances, even telling fortunes.

There is a very moving scene in which Woody is brought to talk to a woman who has given up in despair over losing a child. She no longer eats, drinks or talks. He coaxes her to respond to him until he

finally gets her to sip some water. The scene is allowed to take time, to grow. David Carradine is beautiful—just watching, waiting, involved. But this is almost the only time Guthrie/Carradine is allowed to connect.

Most of the time he is slipping by the action. A recording device, letting you view the scene without being involved in it. A very 1970s sort of character—but not Woody Guthrie.

►The abandoned guitar on the porch.

There is one pivotal scene which contains, for me, a clue to the lack of understanding on the part of the filmmaker. It's where Woody leaves his wife and children in the backyard and walks out the front door. He's bound for California, and he leaves his guitar standing on the front porch. He looks back at it a couple of times (which is more than he does to his family) and

then goes on, leaving it standing against the wall.

That abandoned guitar is a metaphor for the way the film separates the man from his music. Woody Guthrie was his music. He was also of his time. In that time a guitar was worth money. A man leaving home needed money. He didn't leave his heart or his purse standing on the front porch.

The fact is, Woody pawned his guitar when he took off. He left with money (and paint brushes and a harmonica) in his pocket. And he left not as a drifting fool, but as an experienced traveler, heading for a place where his Aunt Laura had led him to believe she could get him a job.

If you can't put your head or your heart into rock bottom poverty, you can't begin to understand Woody Guthrie, his times, or why he was so important to his times. Nor can you understand why the Department of the Interior named a power substation after a singing, radical union organizer.

Bound for Glory catches the charm of Guthrie, but never his force or his real social commitment. It would be a lovely film if it were not about a real person in a real time, and meant to be taken seriously as such.

►Carradine is cool.

David Carradine gives a surface-simple, very deep performance as a charming, alienated, inarticulate fellow, who loves people in general, but nobody in particular. A man who won't let you get closer than 100 yards. With no particular loyalties to anyone or anything. He's cool.

What's wrong with that hits you at the last moment, when a new voice is heard over the end-credits—supple, rasping, driving, it sounds like the real Woody. It makes you want to get up and go. Nothing cool about it.

P.S. Haskell Wexler's photography is spectacularly beautiful. The dust storms are miraculous. Surely they'll all win awards.

—Mavis Lyons

Marjorie Guthrie: 'A beautiful film'

"My children say David Carradine has Woody's vibes."

Q: How do you feel about the film *Bound for Glory*?

A: I like it. It's a beautiful film. Not just a story about Woody. It's a story about a man in relation to his times. To me it's about anybody who's between 25 and 30 and has to grow up and make a decision about what they're going to do with their lives, and a commitment.

So much in the film—the relation to the migratory workers, the problems in terms of unions—all of this is still with us. And I think seeing what happened is an inspiration to young people today. I would hope they get that out of it.

There has been comment to the effect that the filmmakers soft-pedaled Woody's radicalism. Do you agree?

I think that's so unfair. Every single theme in the film leads up to his political commitment. I suppose some old-timers want to see every inch of the way... Well, you can't. I'm enough of an artist to know you don't depict reality in a work; you depict the essence of that reality. And that's what this film does.

You know, I was consulted. I read the script. (I've been reading scripts since 1943.) This is the first one I've really liked. Even so I was worried.

But when I saw the film, I went up to the director and the other top people and said, "When I think of what I feared about what Hollywood would do to Woody Guthrie, I'm so pleased—I really do hope you get your money back!"

Did you like David Carradine's performance?

Very much. The subdued quality some people have been critical about is absolutely right. My children say David has Woody's vibes.

You know, many people bring to the film their own preconceived idea of how Woody was, and it's inaccurate. The part, as David plays it, is very much what Woody was...

I'm concerned about Woody's image. Concerned about what I can live with. And I was worried. But here when somebody has done me a favor, and done it so poetically—in a film that is so relevant today, and so important politically, I don't want people to be critical when Hollywood has gone so far forward to make this picture about a time—a whole period—in relationship to a sensitive human being.

And I mean it. If I had to defend this film dishonestly it would be the greatest disservice I could do.

Can you tell us about the work of the Woody Guthrie Foundation—and especially what it's doing about restoring his old home in Okemah?

For the present, nothing.

When I started the foundation I had the intention—the hope—of doing several things. Restoring the house was one. I wanted to have what I call a living museum, where young people could come and study, hear and see and learn about the Depression and the Dust Bowl. That's still a far-off dream because I don't see where I'm going to get that kind of money.

What's needed, you see, is not just money to put the house in shape, but to keep it in perpetuity. So unless the state, or someone else, is willing to guarantee that... well, I just have to put that idea aside for now.

But there were three other things I had in mind on which the foundation has made some headway. First and most important, I have a collection of what I call Woody's "archives." We're working on that all the time. We've got his writings xeroxed and in chronological order. (We haven't got to the songs yet.)

Anyone who comes—and young people do come from all over the world—can look through the files and get whatever material they need for their papers, or whatever. Already I've been able to retrieve the material that is published in *Sees of Man*. And the work is still nowhere near finished.

The second thing I had in mind was to give money to the sort of things I think Woody would like us to support. We gave a few hundred dollars to the film called *Union Maids* (see *ITT* Dec. 6). And just a few months ago we gave a good deal more to a young woman who sent me the most magnificent photographs of child migratory workers. She wants to do a collection—probably a book—about child labor in the fields. And we want to help.

The third thing, of course, is my work in the Committee to Combat Huntington's Disease. The Foundation has given quite large sums to that. And I'm hoping this picture will help. The picture and the poems and the new records and books—all this gives me a chance to talk to the world about what we're trying to do to relieve human suffering in Woody's name. Because he suffered; we suffered as a family. I want to spare other people that sort of agony. And if all this makes it possible for me to do that, that will be the greatest tribute to Woody that anything could be.



In *These Times* interviewed Marjorie Guthrie in connection with the opening (in New York) of the film *Bound for Glory*. She was married to Woody after the period covered in the film, and is the mother of his sons Arlo and Joady, and his daughter Nora.

Marjorie Guthrie heads the Woody Guthrie Foundation, whose work is described in the interview. Questions about it, and contributions to it may be addressed to her, at 250 West 57th St., New York, NY 10019 (Room 2017).

Final official minor party election returns

Third-Party Vote

STATE	EUGENE J. McCARTHY (Independent)		ROGER MacBRIDE (Libertarian)		LESTER G. MADDOX (American Independent)		THOMAS ANDERSON (American)	
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%	Votes	%
Alabama	99*	—	1,481	0.1	9,198	0.8	70*	—
Alaska			6,773	5.5				
Arizona	19,229	2.6	7,647	1.0	85*	—	564*	0.1
Arkansas	639*	0.1					389*	0.1
California	58,412*	0.7	56,388	0.7	51,098	0.6	4,499*	0.1
Colorado	27,047	2.5	5,339	0.5			428*	—
Connecticut	3,759*	0.3	209*	—	7,101	0.5	155*	—
Delaware	2,433	1.0					645	0.3
Dist. of Columbia			274	0.2				
Florida	23,643	0.8	103*	—			21,325	0.7
Georgia	991*	0.1	175*	—	1,071*	0.1	1,168*	0.1
Hawaii			3,923	1.3				
Idaho	1,202*	0.3	3,558	1.0	5,935	1.7	493*	0.1
Illinois	55,939	1.2	8,057	0.2			387*	—
Indiana							14,048	0.6
Iowa	20,051	1.6	1,452	0.1			3,040	0.2
Kansas	13,185	1.4	3,242	0.3	2,118	0.2	4,724	0.5
Kentucky	6,837	0.6	814	0.1	2,328	0.2	8,308	0.7
Louisiana	6,588	0.5	3,325	0.3	10,058	0.8		
Maine	10,874	2.3	10*	—	8*	—	27*	—
Maryland	4,541*	0.3	255*	—	171*	—	321*	—
Massachusetts	65,637	2.6	135*	—			7,555	0.3
Michigan	47,905	1.3	5,407	0.1	432*	—	504*	—
Minnesota	35,490	1.8	3,529	0.2			13,592	0.7
Mississippi	4,074	0.5	2,787	0.4	4,861	0.6	6,678	0.9
Missouri	24,029	1.2					5,772	1.8
Montana								
Nebraska	9,383	1.5	1,476	0.2	3,378	0.6		
Nevada			1,519	0.8	1,497	0.7		
New Hampshire	4,095	1.2	936	0.3				
New Jersey	32,717	1.1	9,449	0.3	7,716	0.3		
New Mexico			1,110	0.3				
New York			12,197	0.2				
North Carolina	780*	—	2,219	0.1			5,607	0.3
North Dakota	2,952	1.0	256	0.1	269	0.1	3,698	1.2
Ohio	58,258	1.4	8,961	0.2	15,529	0.4		
Oklahoma	14,101	1.3						
Oregon	40,192	3.9					1,044*	0.1
Pennsylvania	50,584	1.1			25,344	0.5		
Rhode Island	479*	0.1	715	0.2	1*	—	24*	—
South Carolina					1,950	0.2	2,996	0.4
South Dakota			1,619	0.5				
Tennessee	5,004	0.3	1,375	0.1	2,303	0.2	5,769	0.4
Texas	20,118	0.5					11,442	0.3
Utah	3,907	0.7	2,438	0.5	1,162	0.2	13,304	2.5
Vermont	4,001	2.2	4*	—			2*	—
Virginia			4,648	0.3			16,686	1.0
Washington	36,986	2.4	5,042	0.3	8,585	0.6	5,046	0.3
West Virginia								
Wisconsin	34,943	1.7	3,814	0.2	8,552	0.4		
Wyoming	624*	0.4	89*	0.1	30*	—	290*	0.2
Totals	751,728	0.9	172,750	0.2	170,780	0.2	160,600	0.2

* asterisk indicates write-in votes; a dash (—) indicates candidate received less than one-tenth of one per cent of the vote.

Minor Parties

Following is the state-by-state vote for all minor-party presidential candidates who received less than 100,000 votes each but were on the ballot in two or more states. The aggregate vote for these minor-party candidates can be found in the "other" column, p. 3335. The symbol * means the votes were write-in votes.

Peter Camejo (Socialist Workers): 91,226 votes. By states: Ala. 1*; Ariz. 928 (0.1 per cent); Calif. 17,259 (0.2 per cent); Colo. 1,071 (0.1 per cent); Conn. 33*; D.C. 545 (0.3 per cent); Ga. 43*; Ill. 3,615 (0.1 per cent); Ind. 5,695 (0.3 per cent); Iowa 267; Ky. 350; La. 2,240 (0.2 per cent); Me. 1*; Md. 261*; Mass. 8,138 (0.3 per cent); Mich. 1,804; Minn. 4,149 (0.2 per cent); Miss. 2,805 (0.4 per cent); N.H. 161; N.J. 1,184; N.M. 2,462 (0.6 per cent); N.Y. 6,996 (0.1 per cent); N.D. 43; Ohio 4,717 (0.1 per cent); Pa. 3,009 (0.1 per cent); R.I. 462 (0.1 per cent); S.D. 168 (0.1 per cent); Texas 1,723; Utah 268; Vt. 430 (0.2 per cent); Va. 17,802 (1.0 per cent); Wash. 905 (0.1 per cent); Wis. 1,691 (0.1 per cent).

Gus Hall (Communist): 59,114 votes. By states: Ala. 1,954 (0.2 per cent); Calif. 12,766 (0.2 per cent); Colo. 403; Conn. 186*; D.C. 219 (0.1 per cent); Ga. 3*; Ill. 9,250 (0.2 per cent); Iowa 554; Ky. 426; La. 7,417 (0.6 per cent); Me. 14*; Md. 68*; Mich. 152*; Minn. 1,092 (0.1 per cent); N.J. 1,662 (0.1 per cent); N.Y. 10,270 (0.2 per cent); N.D. 84; Ohio 7,817 (0.2 per cent); Pa. 1,891; R.I. 334 (0.1 per cent); S.D. 318 (0.1 per cent); Tenn. 547; Utah 121; Wash. 817 (0.1 per cent); Wis. 749.

Margaret Wright (People's): 49,024 votes. By states: Calif. 41,731 (0.5 per cent); Conn. 1*; Md. 8*; Mass. 33*; Mich. 3,504 (0.1 per cent); Minn. 635; N.J. 1,044; Vt. 1*; Wash. 1,124 (0.1 per cent); Wis. 943.

Lyndon H. LaRouche (U.S. Labor): 40,045 votes. By states: Ala. 1*; Colo. 565 (0.1 per cent); Conn. 1,789 (0.1 per cent); Del. 136 (0.1 per cent); D.C. 157 (0.1 per cent); Ga. 8*; Idaho 739 (0.2 per cent); Ill. 2,018; Ind. 1,947 (0.1 per cent); Iowa 241; Ky. 510; Md. 21*; Mass. 4,922 (0.2 per cent); Mich. 1,366; Minn. 543; N.H. 186 (0.1 per cent); N.J. 1,650 (0.1 per cent); N.Y. 5,413 (0.1 per cent); N.C. 755; N.D. 142; Ohio 4,335 (0.1 per cent); Pa. 2,744 (0.1 per cent); Tenn. 512; Vt. 196 (0.1 per cent); Va. 7,508 (0.4 per cent); Wash. 903 (0.1 per cent); Wis. 738.

Benjamin C. Bubar (Prohibition): 15,898 votes. By states: Ala. 6,669 (0.6 per cent); Calif. 31*; Colo. 2,836 (0.3 per cent); Del. 103; Kan. 1,403 (0.1 per cent); Me. 3,495 (0.7 per cent); Md. 2*; Mass. 14*; Mich. 13*; N.J. 554; N.M. 211 (0.1 per cent); N.D. 63; Ohio 62*; Tenn. 442.

Jules Levin (Socialist Labor): 9,590 votes. By states: Calif. 221*; Colo. 12*; Conn. 6*; Del. 86; Fla. 19*; Ga. 2*; Ill. 2,422 (0.1 per cent); Iowa 167; Me. 1*; Md. 7*; Mass. 19*; Mich. 1,148; Minn. 370; N.H. 66; N.J. 3,686 (0.1 per cent); Ohio 68*; R.I. 188; Wash. 713; Wis. 389.

Frank P. Zeidler (Socialist): 6,022 votes. By states: Conn. 5*; Fla. 8*; Ga. 2*; Iowa 234; Md. 16*; Minn. 354; N.J. 469; N.M. 240 (0.1 per cent); N.D. 38; Wash. 358; Wis. 4,298 (0.2 per cent).

None: 5,108-Nev. 5,108 (2.5 per cent).

The rest of the votes were scattered write-ins.

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Cabinet

Continued from page 5

in other words, should be provided subsidies and incentives to expand their operations, prosper, and bring the disadvantaged along with them.

Since the private sector (business) must provide succor for the needy, obstacles to its prosperity must be attacked by all, rich and poor, united in a broad social compact. And the primary enemy of the steady growth of business is, of course, inflation.

►The joining of liberal and conservative.

Here, curiously enough, is the juncture uniting modern day liberal Democrats with conservative Republicans. Both are identifying inflation control as the government's chief economic responsibility.

Schultze, the Democrat, is joined in the anti-inflation crusade by Richard J. Whalen, former editor of the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune*. In a recent long feature in the *Washington Post*, Whalen urged Carter to "do for the domestic economy what Richard Nixon did for U.S. diplomacy." Carter should break with Democratic tradition, said Whalen, and make inflation of 3 percent or less annually his "primary domestic objective."

At this point, Whalen joins the Milton Friedman tendency on the question of where to place the burden of inflation control. "Zero involuntary unemployment" should be the government's goal,

says Whalen, (without explaining the mysterious corollary of "voluntary" unemployment). Public service jobs should be provided at less than minimum wage to those not yet absorbed by the expanding economy (unemployed). "To offset the costs," suggests Whalen, "federal unemployment benefits, which now extend well beyond a year, would be cut back to a maximum of 13 weeks."

Of course, it may be possible to fight inflation without impoverishing the marginally employed, but the experts' schemes have an uncanny way of returning to variations on Whalen's theme.

►Schultze experienced at deception.

But Schultze's experience in government embraces one other important tradition—deception. The *New York Times* called him "one of the key participants in a cover-up of the rapidly rising costs of the war in Vietnam, a deception engineered by Johnson and McNamara (who has since conceded such a role), which involved a \$10 billion underestimate of the defense budget." The episode, however, did not disqualify Schultze from consideration by the Carter administration.

And for an administration forged from the Democratic coalition, elected by organized labor, blacks, and frustrated liberals, an economic strategy not concentrated on relieving the crushing unemployment rate will require deception.

Crime Report

A FOUR-PART SERIES

Crime: the pervasive American syndrome

By Elliot Currie

On a dark night not long ago, I found myself chasing a prowler down the street with a tire iron. There had been a rash of burglaries, muggings and robberies in the neighborhood for several weeks. The house on the corner had been held up at gunpoint; my house, along with half a dozen others on the block, had been broken into; and an elderly couple had been held up on the street around the corner in broad daylight. So when I discovered a man trying to snatch my bicycle off the front porch, I jumped in the car, grabbed the tire iron, and cruised the neighborhood for 15 minutes looking for him. I never found him, which was probably just as well for both of us. But I'm sure that if I had, I would have done my best to brain him with the iron. For someone trained in the verities of liberal criminology, it was an unsettling experience.

But the experience was far from unique. Across the country, and across all strata of the population, crime—always high on the list of personal concerns—is becoming a dominant factor in people's lives, profoundly influencing the way they organize their daily life. More and more people, fed up with the fear and loss crime brings, are moving in one way or another to take the issue into their own hands.

A recent Gallup poll found that nearly half of all Americans living in big cities—and over three-fourths of the women—are afraid to walk in their neighborhoods at night. Nearly 20 percent said they didn't feel safe even in their homes.

Not surprisingly, the fear of crime is greater among low-income people and minorities. A 1974 HUD survey of a high-crime, low-income housing project in Washington, D.C., found that more than half of the residents never went out at night alone; 40 percent had stopped visiting friends in the project because they were afraid to walk there at all. In response to the pervasive fear, HUD reported, the project had become "something close to an armed camp." Nearly all of the residents thought that project families should have weapons for self-protection, and nearly a fourth had recently acquired them, mainly handguns.

Gun dealers report that sales of handguns for protection are up throughout the country. In small towns like Watsonville, Calif., as well as high-crime urban areas like Chicago's Woodlawn or Pontiac, Mich., citizens have organized anti-crime patrols. In the modest San Francisco suburb of Daly City, over 150 homeowners in one neighborhood have installed cameras that automatically photograph anyone nearing the front door. Two years ago, the *New York Times* reported that dog bites in the city had increased by nearly half in the past few years, mainly due to increased usage of aggressive dogs for personal protection, including an upsurge in the illegal keeping of wolves as protective pets. In California this spring, a bill allowing private citizens to carry mace was narrowly defeated in the state legislature. In New York this fall, an elderly Bronx couple hanged themselves four days after having been beaten and robbed in their apartment, leaving a note saying that they "didn't want to live in fear."

These responses are rooted in the increasingly frightful reality of social and personal life in the 1970s. Until recently, concern over crime was generally regarded as an issue for right-wing politicians and law enforcement officials looking for federal handouts. Today the mood is

changing. People on the left are beginning to acknowledge that the crime problem is a real one, and one that, like other ills of advanced capitalism, is inflicted with special severity on working people and minorities.

►Crime rates still rising.

Like most official statistics, estimates of crime rates must be interpreted cautiously. The standard source is the FBI's annual Uniform Crime Reports, which, because they are based mainly on crimes actually reported to the police, notoriously underestimate the true amount of crime. But even so, figures on recent crime rates are striking. Between 1960 and 1975, the overall crime rate for the FBI's seven "index crimes"—murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and motor vehicle theft—jumped 180 percent, up about a third since 1970. The increase has been especially high for robbery (263 percent), burglary (200 percent) and rape (174 percent). Bank robbery has jumped 79 percent in the last five years.

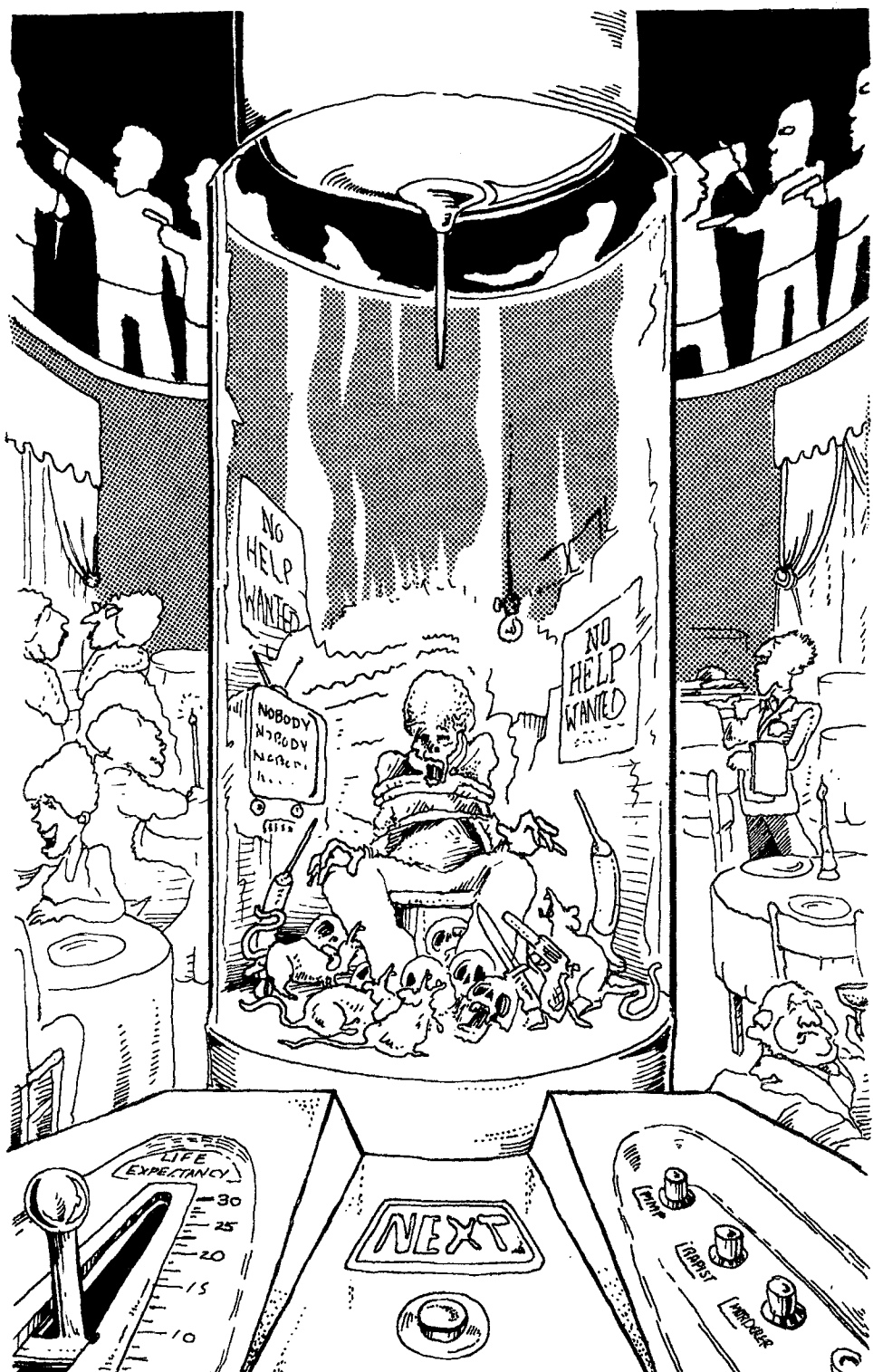
Crime rates have increased fastest in places and among groups that have traditionally low rates—small towns and suburbs—and among women. Between 1974 and 1975, the crime rate went up 7.5 percent in cities with over 250,000 people, but 11 percent in cities with less than 10,000. Arrests of women for the seven "index crimes" went up twice as fast between 1960 and 1975 as they did for men; the number of women arrested for robbery jumped 647 percent in the last 15 years. As the economic crisis has settled in, arrests for small-scale property crimes, particularly shoplifting, have risen sharply—especially among people not traditionally given to theft, like suburban housewives and the elderly. Juvenile crime, always high in the United States, has gone up faster than adult crime, especially for crimes of violence, where the rate for children under 18 rose 290 percent between 1960 and 1975.

Watergate and the recent revelations of high-level bribery by major United States corporations have focused attention on the growing costs of "white-collar" crime. Accurate estimates of the extent of white-collar offenses are even harder to come by than they are for "street" crimes. But even the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has estimated the losses at \$40 billion a year, while Michigan Senator Philip Hart argued that \$200 billion is a more accurate figure. A study by the Library of Congress noted that American corporations publicly admitted spending more than \$300 million in questionable or illegal political payments during 1974 and '75. But much of the apparent rise in white-collar crime is accounted for by small-scale frauds, as more and more people develop schemes, often desperate, to bilk the big corporate and financial powers.

One town in Florida has become known to insurance investigators as "Nub City," because so many of its residents have cut off their own fingers and toes in order to collect on insurance claims. Though business people have increasingly complained about their own losses from white-collar crime, its most serious impact—like that of street crime—is on working people who pay for it in higher prices, higher insurance rates, corrupt and inefficient public services and, most tragically, in death, injury and disease resulting from corporate violation of health, safety and anti-pollution laws.

►Working people are hardest hit.

Official crime figures understate the extent of the victimization of working people, both because they generally ignore



the impact of white collar offenses and because they understate the extent of street crime. A more accurate estimate of the latter is provided by a series of sample surveys of crime victims recently undertaken by the federal government's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The most recent survey, covering crimes committed in 1974, shows that the actual rates for rape and aggravated assault were about four times the FBI's estimate; for robbery, about three times. And it shows with striking clarity that victimization by street crimes is primarily an affliction of minorities and the poor.

- Black women are more than twice as likely to be raped as white women.

- Black men are 2½ times as likely to be robbed as white men.

- A woman whose annual family income is below \$3,000 is roughly seven times as likely to be raped as a woman whose family income is between \$15,000 and \$25,000.

- A man with an annual income above \$25,000 is only half as likely to be robbed as a man making less than \$3,000, and has less than one-third the chance of being injured in a robbery.

- A black family making below \$7,500 a year is about half again as likely to have its home burglarized as a white family making over \$15,000.

At present rates, close to one in five black women can expect to be raped during their lifetime; the probability is much higher if they are poor. Nearly a fourth of black men can expect to be robbed over the next ten years, and a black man born today can virtually count on being robbed at least once in his lifetime.

Murder, for obvious reasons, is not covered in surveys of crime victims. But a number of studies of homicide show that it follows the pattern of other serious crimes. An analysis by a group of MIT researchers has shown that at current levels of increase in the murder rate, one out of every 11 children born in Atlanta in 1974 who remain in that city will be murdered. One of every six males born in Harlem will be murdered by age 65. Overall, a male child born in the U.S. in the '70s is more likely to die by murder

than an American soldier in World War II was to die in combat. It's been estimated that murder is now the leading cause of death for young black men in urban areas.

Murder rates also illustrate how great the risk of serious crime is in the U.S. in contrast to other countries. Crime rates have generally increased throughout the capitalist world in recent years. But London, with a population of over seven million, had 142 murders in 1974—while a single Manhattan precinct (the 28th, in Harlem), with a population of 58,000, had 117 murders two years earlier. Swiss authorities were worried in 1974 when 101 robberies were reported in Zurich, up from 69 in 1973. The 28th precinct, with about one-seventh the population, had 3,576 robberies in 1972.

An increasing body of evidence shows that the extreme levels of violent crime in the United States—as well as those of property crimes—are deeply related to the extremes of economic inequality and insecurity in this country, and particularly to high unemployment rates. In a recent analysis for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University found that murder rates and state prison admissions were closely correlated with unemployment rates for the three decades before 1970. Other forms of personal violence, less often reported and therefore harder to measure, are also generally attributed to the frustrations of joblessness and poverty—including physical violence by men against women and the estimated 250,000 to 500,000 annual cases of child abuse. Harlem's 28th precinct, which led the city in murder and placed second in robbery in 1972, had an unemployment rate of 65 percent among young men aged 16 to 21.

Like infant mortality, inferior housing, or industrial accidents, victimization by serious crime is one of the routine costs of living at the bottom of the class, racial, and sexual hierarchies of advanced capitalism in the United States. Elliot Currie has taught criminology at the University of California at Berkeley and at Yale University, and is a member of the East Bay chapter of the New American Movement.

Bye-bye Bicentennial

Photos (except where noted) by Jane Melnick

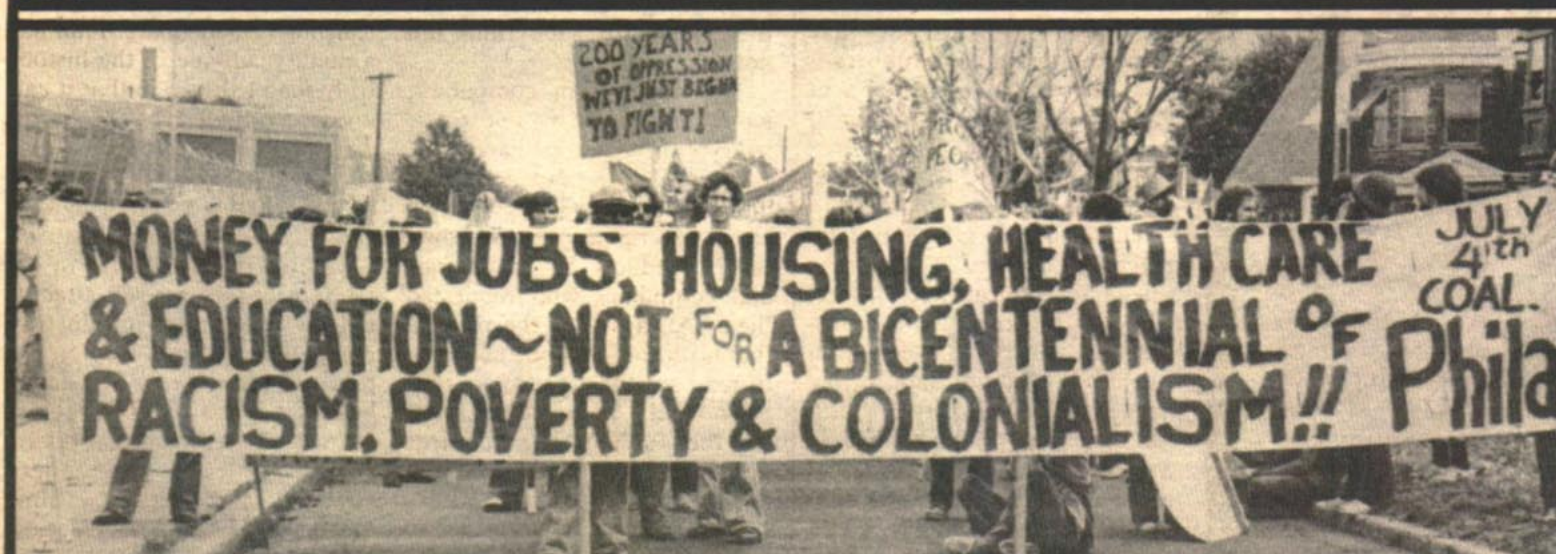


Photo by Ken Firestone

Celebration in a small town

Protest in a big city

Photo by Torie Osborn



Although the media didn't cover it, not everyone was celebrating the status quo. 40,000 people converged on Philadelphia to recapture the rebellious spirit of July 4th. They marched through North Philadelphia to a rally promoting 'a bicentennial without colonies;' full democracy and equality; and jobs and a decent standard of living for everyone.



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Independent feature film captures emotional violence of living in U.S.



Harvey Waldman: Star of *Off the Wall*.

OFF THE WALL
Directed and written by Rick King
Starring Harvey Waldman

Off the Wall is an impressive new feature film made by a first-rate crew of talented people interested in the independent production of politically-relevant motion pictures. Its violence is the emotional violence of living in America. (There is no blood

flowing freely to numb the audience.)

It all began in Boston where Rick King was working at the PBS station when the Ogalala occupation of Wounded Knee took place. King considered taking his camera and film crew to South Dakota and giving it/them to the Indians. The moment for that passed, but the idea remained. He set about writing a

screen play about the semi-righteous theft of a public television station camera.

The protagonist of *Off the Wall* is John Little, a 24-year-old, unemployed man about whom a PBS documentary is being made. A camera crew follows him to the offices where he applies for work, to supermarkets where he steals cheese, and finally to a local bank.

At this point, Little catches his chroniclers by surprise. He produces a pistol and robs both the bank and the camera crew.

The last half of the film is seen through his eyes as he crosses the country, a fugitive who—like 80 percent of all bank robbers—does not get caught. Alone, cut off from his former friends (who are all being questioned by the FBI) and prevented from making new ones. He is utterly alienated.

The character is beautifully played by Harvey Waldman, a veteran of political street theater, who has incorporated his own awareness into the role. John Little is no flaming radical. He has, as Waldman says, "been through some politics, but in a post-revolutionary, defeated mode... There is need for a political change for a guy like John Little."

Off the Wall was shot in 16mm black and white, on Kodak Plus X film (the same stock that gave us those rich-looking 1930s Frank Capra features). Black and white because the budget had to be kept low and the quality high. The camera work was done by John Else, who recently won an Academy Award for a short, and by the team of Chris Beaver and Judy Irving, whose credits include a film about Alaska for the Sierra Club.

The saga of how the film was made would probably make the basis of another good film. It came together by hook or crook, but it came together neat and clean.

Distribution is currently being negotiated. Look for it. Or, even better, ask for it.

—Sam Silver

Alternative films a boon to the arts

John Grierson, the man who coined the word "documentary" for non-fiction films, said many years ago that there would come a day when more people would see films outside of movie houses than in them. To many this seemed a foolhardy prediction, but it has now become a fact.

The development of what are called "alternative distribution systems" began at the end of World War II and can be traced to two disparate causes, one purely technical, the other socio-political. The former was the switch-over (under pressure of war-time film usage) from nitrate to fire-

tion that wants to rent a 16mm print may find it more, rather than less costly than the standard 35mm print.

Film has become the modern Gutenberg Press. All sorts of institutions—educational, professional, labor unions, management associations, fund-raising outfits, cultural and political organizations, and state, municipal and federal government agencies—all use films extensively.

In 1974 the outlay for audio-visual materials in educational establishments, libraries and film societies alone came to close to

"Film has become the modern Gutenberg press. All sorts of institutions—educational, professional, labor unions...all use film extensively."

proof acetate stock. The latter was the involvement of large numbers of people from the film industry—writers, actors, directors, cutters, even small, independent distributors—in the educational use of film, both in combat training and in civilian orientation.

When the war was over, these people returned to the U.S. much more sophisticated about the world in general, and in particular about the potential use of film to spread knowledge of that world.

Documentary and other forms of non-theatrical films had suddenly acquired a new, potentially enormous audience. But the outlets for such films did not as yet exist.

The major film companies, having resumed their pre-war concentration on the making of feature entertainment films, granted—rather diffidently—the 16mm film rights to some of their older products to individuals and companies who requested them. Always with the proviso that no entrance fee be charged, to reassure theater owners that there would be no competition for the public's entertainment dollars.

Film societies began to spring up in schools, museums, and libraries. They solved the vexing problem of meeting expenses without charging admission in one of two ways: either by establishing film "courses" and charging a fee for the course; or by selling "memberships" in a society and/or charging yearly dues from its members.

It was not long before the majors, beset by competition from TV, a shrinking audience in their motion picture "palaces" and the decree divorcing production companies from their distribution networks, woke up to the fact that the stepchild they had neglected was turning into a fair-haired boy. They abrogated the no-entrance-fee clause and began to demand minimum guarantees and a percentage of ticket sales. Today a non-profit organiza-

\$2 billion. Even discounting a large percentage of that figure for hardware, the expenditure is staggering.

Grierson's prophecy is further validated by a look at what has happened to the theatrical film business. In the years before TV and the divorce decree the Hollywood product averaged between 300 and 400 films a year. Today if 70 features come out of West Coast studios it is considered a good year.

The real importance of the growth of non-theatrical film—in this writer's view—is the contribution films make to the understanding of a world so complex that linear, printed-word learning is inadequate. Film has a quality, unique in the history of human culture, in that it can appeal to all levels of educational background (though not, of course, with the same intensity).

The non-theatrical filmmakers—many of them students—have used the medium to investigate new forms never attempted by the major production companies: cinema verite, the personal films, dance films, animation, and so on. And the existence of non-theatrical distribution systems gives these younger, independent filmmakers access to an audience on almost any subject, in almost any degree of depth.

If the users and makers of non-theatrical films can be welded into some sort of working alliance, even the problem of financing may be resolved.

Meanwhile the non-theatrical, or alternative films are a boon to the audience, to the neophyte filmmakers (passionately anxious to create and frequently highly gifted) and to the art itself. Film is the most precious instrument we have for meeting the needs of communication in today's world, and the injection of new blood is essential to any art form that hopes to avoid dessication.

Jean Lenauer is a filmmaker and critic who has worked in Europe and the U.S. The above is taken from his work in progress on the subject of alternative distribution films.

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Son of *Silent Movie* goes to Cucamonga



NICKELODEON

Directed by Peter Bogdanovich
Starring Ryan O'Neal, Burt Reynolds,
Tatum O'Neal, Brian Keith and Stella
Stevens
Columbia/British Lion/EMI Co-production

Nickelodeon is probably the funniest movie since *Silent Movie*. It is also, probably, the first in a long line of prospectors arriving to mine the gold Mel Brooks panned. But Bogdanovich's movie about making movies is not as straightforward as the Mel Brooks scenario. So here, for those who want to follow it, is a summary of the action through the first few reels:

In the beginning was a war—a war between the majors and the independents—war to the death (financial), fought with violence (physical), over the picayune profits of those days of the nickel box-office.

An independent producer named H.H. Cobb (played like a Mack Sennett heavy, by Brian Keith) pits his energy and other people's wits against the combined strength of the "Patents Company" and the goon squads they send out to destroy the films, camera, labs and studios of their competitors. Cobb hires an impeccable lawyer (played by handsome Ryan O'Neal) to bail out one of his road companies, stranded on location near an ostrich farm in Cucamonga. The Patents Company hires an alligator wrestler (played by even more handsome Burt Reynolds) to shoot up the same company. Both men fall in love with a myopic Chataqua actress (played like an early Chaplin heroine by Jane Hitchcock).

There are chance meetings and near-misses for a couple of reels; then a grand confrontation, in which all the principal contenders (and objects of contention) come together in Cucamonga. Reynolds and O'Neal pommel each other very hard for a very long time and end up—guess? Right! Friends and co-workers! Now it's all about the amorous contest over the "rat-blind" beauty and what happens to the girls who get left out, including Tatum O'Neal, playing a 14-year-old script writer who owns a rattlesnake and rents out ostriches. The laughs get louder, and the plot matters less as the reels unwind, and pretty soon you can figure it out for yourself without a libretto.

The climax involves the premiere of Griffith's "The Birth of a Nation"—carefully clipped so as to offend no one—and the birth of a new kind of film, which is destined to replace the one-reeler, in a new kind of "motion picture palace" which is destined to replace the nickelodean.

One of the press releases about *Nickelodeon* claims that it's "funny and touching." Funny it is. (Although some of the private jokes probably get laughs only from the generation whose feet are immortalized in cement in front of Grauman's Chinese.) The trouble is in the "touching" part. It's frequently what the Tatum O'Neal character would call "ick."

A director who could turn out *The Last Picture Show* and *Daisy Miller* and *Paper Moon* really ought to be able to make it all hang together better than this.

—Janet Stevenson

A good look at daily life in the USSR—but short on economics

THE RUSSIANS

By Hedrick Smith
Quadrangle, N.Y., 1976, \$12.50

Hedrick Smith was Moscow Bureau Chief for the *New York Times* (1971-1974) and won the Pulitzer prize in 1974 for his Moscow coverage. His wife, Ann, kept house there and their three children went from kindergarten to sixth grade in Moscow.

Smith is a first-rate journalist with endless curiosity, great ingenuity and stamina in pursuit of information, as well as a relaxed and pleasing style. His book gives the feel and flavor of daily life in the Soviet Union—seldom found in western journalism. But in its sociological and economic understanding of that society it is uneven and unreliable.

When Smith writes from firsthand observation, he is impressive. His best chapters are on avant guard underground culture because he talked with and examined the work of a substantial number of artists involved in that movement. His portraits of Soviet dissidents are also excellent. The interviews with Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov and Roy Medvedev are both moving and illuminating. Smith's analysis of their varying positions and of the overall problem of dissent also contributes to our knowledge of the USSR.

The discussion of Soviet agriculture and industry is less im-

pressive. For example, Smith complains that "...the dynamism of innovation has been missing. The planned Soviet economy lacks the driving force that stimulates technological development in the West." At the time I was reading Smith's book, his newspaper was running a long article bemoaning the stifling of innovation in American industry. If the Soviet economy were as ossified and inefficient as Smith contends, one has to ask how the USSR has maintained growth rates that (according to Smith) were at least double those of the U.S. in the years from 1968 to 1974, and has been able to become the second industrial power in the world.

I do not imply that the Soviet economy has no problems. It does, and they are huge. But Smith fails to make clear that they are neither as crippling nor as refractory as those faced by our American economy.

All that is good in present-day Russia is due, in Smith's view, to the Russian "soul." All that is bad is due to socialism. I do not quarrel with his emphasis on the weight of tradition, historical development and national character, which is a welcome correction to the prevailing idea that socialism creates a new society *ab ovo*. It is when he goes on to say that Soviet society suffers from an inferiority complex because of its historical backward-

ness that his credibility plummets.

One of the proofs Smith offers is a speech by Stalin pointing out that Russia had been invaded over and over again through the centuries because of her backwardness. This speech was made in February, 1929 (Smith dates it erroneously as 1934), and Stalin also stated in it that Russia had to, and could overcome that backwardness within 10 years. Since war broke out just 10 and a half years later, I always considered the speech a remarkable, if fortuitous example of historical perspective.

One area where Smith's judgment is not only wrong, but in my view reprehensible is his handling of the way World War II is etched into the Soviet consciousness. He finds this a mystique fostered by propaganda. I find it a natural reaction to the experience of suffering and destruction on a scale beyond our ken. Smith's judgment strikes me as equivalent to saying that for the Jewish people as a whole the holocaust is a mystique.

Taken as an account of daily living in the USSR, the book is good and rewarding reading. Not the least of its charms is a generous sprinkling of wonderful Soviet anti-Soviet jokes. They seem to demonstrate that one consistent quality in the Russian "soul" is a robust and irrepressible sense of humor.

—Carl Marzani

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A look at America's women at work

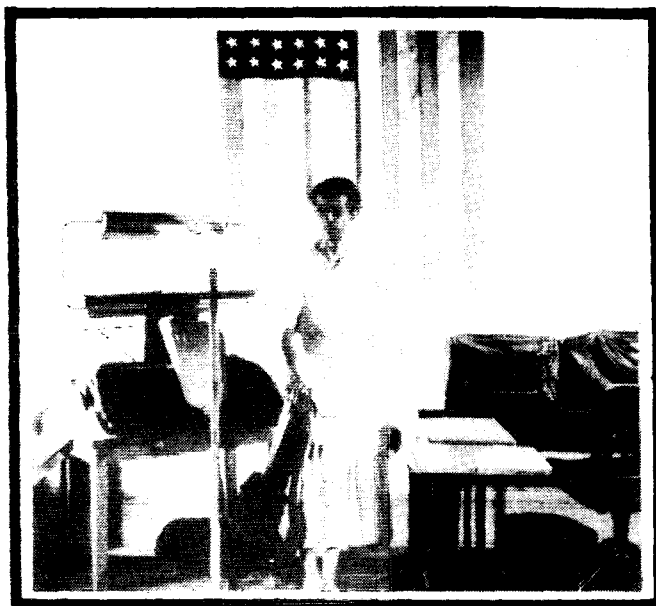


Photo by Gordon Parks

AMERICA'S WORKING WOMEN

Edited by Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon and Susan Reverby
Vintage Books, N.Y., paperback, \$6.95

In 1910, after the Shirtwaist Makers—40,000 strong—had struck through a bitter New York winter, a member of the Women's Trade Union League said it was "a trade-union truism that women make the best strikers."

This and other forgotten history is revealed in this collection, which describes America's women at work, often in their own words. The authors have assembled diaries, letters, magazine articles, newspaper stories, government reports and more that explore what women have done and how they felt about it since 1600.

Women were America's first factory workers, making clothes in New England. They made artificial flowers in tenement flats, with their three-year-old children working beside them.

They built ships during World War II. They worked in fields and kitchen, as slaves and as farmer's wives. Some types of work, like housework, have changed drastically in three centuries. Others, like prostitution, have stayed the same.

It's an unfortunate reader who begins this book on page one, for it doesn't really pick up until about 1890. Before that too many of the selections are pale reports and studies, written decades after the events they describe.

The coverage of women's relationship to the trade union movement is particularly interesting. We learn from these pages the incredible lengths male trade unionists went to at the turn of the century to keep women out of unions. Once in, women found that men kept tight control over the locals. Alice Henry's argument about why women needed separate locals, made in 1915, reads like an argument for a women's move-

ment today: "The men...run the meeting and often are the meeting. Their influence may be all out of proportion to their numbers."

From the '90s to the '70s, women who organized unions had to fight both the boss and the men who worked at their sides. Dolores Huerta of the United Farmworkers in 1974 echoes her sisters of other decades when she replies to Cesar Chavez (who says her arguments are impossible): "You haven't seen anything yet; I'm going to get worse. Because from now on I'm going to fight really, really hard when I believe in something."

My favorite selection is from "True Confessions" in 1955, when the media was trying to convince America's working women they belonged at home. Alice, who doesn't like being a girl, trains as a policewoman. She traces and finds a kidnapped baby, wrestles with and is stabbed by one kidnapper, gets shot at by

another. She passes out in the arms of two policemen while carrying the baby to safety, which goes to show—as her boyfriend Butch points out—that girls can't make it as police. (She settles down and marries him.)

A serious weakness in the book is the lack of a sense of the development of the working class. For example, the editors, in the introductions that put each selection in its historical context, dismiss the first New England mill workers as the daughters of well-to-do Yankee farmers, and then fail to explain how the subdivision of labor brought about the poor, badly educated women who worked in the same mills 20 years later on.

But basically, *America's Working Women* is a fine book, at once a resource for feminists and historians, and a good introduction for anyone new to feminism and curious about its past.

—Judy MacLean

American family life: mostly gloom

Recent novels chart striving, disintegration

A brief checklist of recent fiction about the tremors and pleasures of contemporary American family life:

Beyond the Bedroom Wall by Larry Woiwode (Avon), \$1.95. Published in 1975, this beautifully crafted history of the disintegration (through no faults of its individual members) of a closely-

bound midwestern Catholic family is now available in a popular paperback edition. "What is real in the real life?" This question raised by the main character just before her death haunts its pages and the reader.

Family Feeling by Helen Yglesias (Dial), \$8.95. The second novel by the former literary edi-

tor of *The Nation*, it stands as the finest work of fiction by a woman published in 1976; one of the most moving and intelligent studies of a New York Jewish family's struggle to enter the "mainstream" that we will ever receive.

Domestic Particulars by Frederick Busch (New Directions), \$3.95. A strikingly idiosyncratic collection of "linked stories" which trace the growth of disenchantment and bitter self-knowledge among the members of a middle-class Brooklyn family from the early part of this century to the present.

The Easter Parade by Richard Yates (Delacorte), \$7.95. Working in the faded tradition of the naturalists, Yates manages to lend style and grace to the unselfconscious descent into pain and madness on the part of two slightly befuddled sisters growing up in and around New York City.

The Family Arsenal by Paul Theroux (Houghton Mifflin), \$8.95. An expatriate novelist who lives in London presents us with a pathetic collection of radical fringe youths who live together in a London slum under the aegis of an ex-American Foreign Service officer turned murderer and revolutionary. It may seem like a ringer among these works with domestic settings. But the "family" in the title is serious. Theroux's adventure story speaks to the question of "family feeling" in days of social disruption in a voice both pertinent and subtle.

—Alan Cheuse

Alan Cheuse teaches at Bennington College and reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

And was Jerusalem
builded here
Among these dark
Satanic Mills?

The important
questions are asked

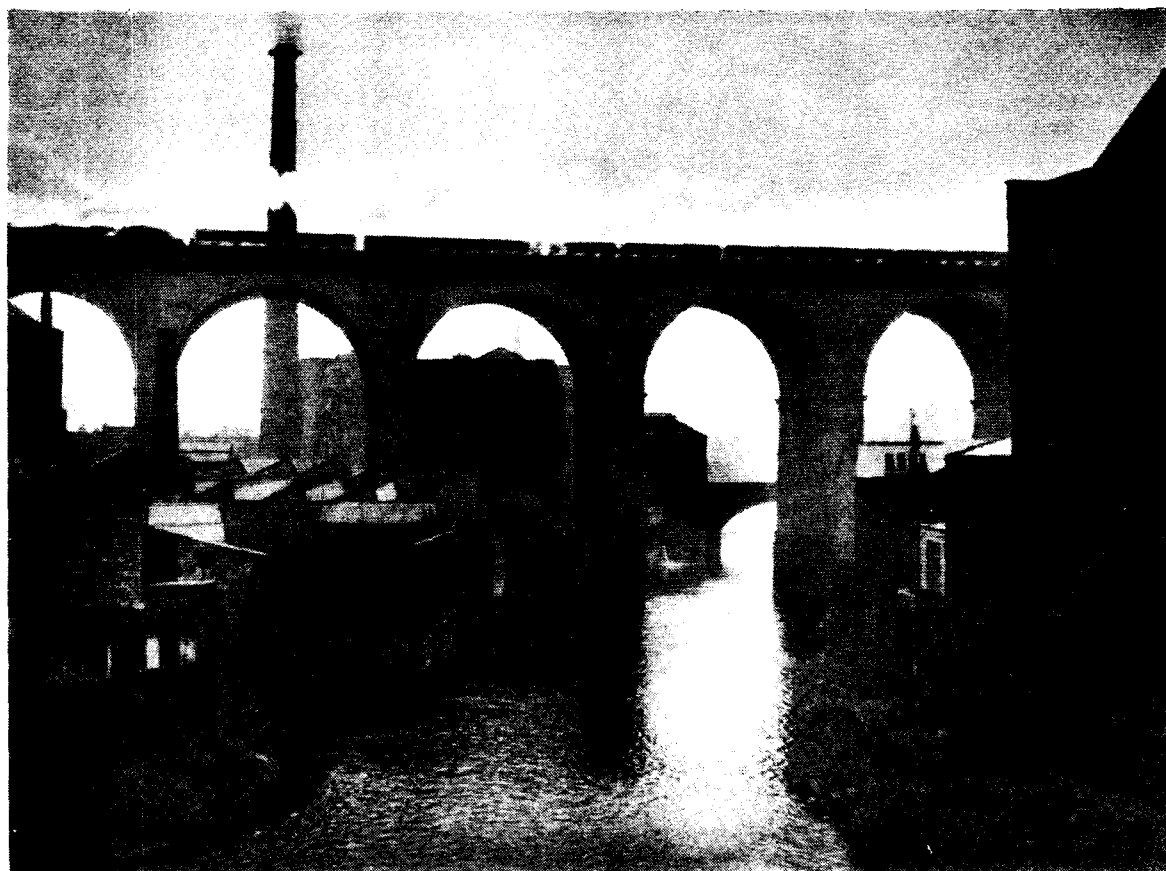
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Last week, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964), *The Rebel Girl*, *Wobbly*, *Socialist*, *Communist*.

Seven days and six nights at a Black Sea resort.



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Gigantic *In These Times* subscription contest

Are we naive and blind to union bureaucracy?

Unions are outside the working class, a liberal version of established authority, Aronowitz asserts. Tell it to the workers, Moberg replies.

David Moberg's effort (ITT, Nov. 29) to provide a framework for understanding the trade unions today is laudatory in its comprehensive tone, but it suffers from a certain myopia.

On the surface, Moberg appears to present both the "rank and file" viewpoint as well as those of certain progressive trade unionists such as Jesse Prosten of the Meatcutters and Frank Rosen of the UE. But it is these officials whose views Moberg actually accepts, rather than those of the rank and file who have grasped the meaning of modern unionism: even though the unions are still somewhat of a force to defend the workers' interests, they are perceived as outside the working class, as part of the bureaucracy, as a more liberal version of the established authority of society.

Left wing bureaucracy asserts that the problems of unionism are fundamentally ideological in nature and not structural. The Service Employees, the Chicago Meatcutters and the UE are the maverick unions that, excepting the Service Employees, which is a relatively new organization, represent the defeated tendencies in American trade unionism. The building trades, the skilled workers' organizations in general and the bulk of the industrial unions of CIO vintage, are not progressive forces.

The challenge underway in the Steelworkers reveals the extent of disintegration of even those progressive elements that were present in the immediate post-war period. The dominant leadership of the labor movement, reflecting the strength of monopoly sectors of the economy, have bargained away the health and safety of the workers, the strike weapon, and union democracy itself, in return for relative gains for the most skilled senior sections of the working class.

Even the new unions, particularly those in the state sector like the Teachers and the State County and Municipal Employees, have responded to the social needs of the working poor and of their own memberships with policies of capitulation. The behavior of SCME and of the AFT in the recent budget crises was reprehensible, even from the left liberal point of view. In New York and Detroit,

DIALOG

these unions literally rolled over as the banks and the Democratic politicians gutted the hard-won social programs and services for the working and underclass populations.

Although the Farm Workers' organizing drive in California may be cited to prove that there is some life in the old House of Labor, the Farm workers Union has been forced to make compromise after compromise in order to keep the shreds of help they still enjoy from the official unions. And the poor Textile Workers Union has always suffered from President George Meany's on-again/off-again assistance. In the end, the question of organizing the south is a political question as much as a problem of recruitment. If the agencies of the federal government refuse to enforce the law (and this has been the case since the end of World War II), there is no way to bring the 800,000 southern textile workers and an almost equal number of garment and other clothing workers into the unions. The AFL-CIO has not, since merger, constituted an independent political force either for organizing or for the extension of social benefits such as national health programs. In the monopoly and the state sectors as well as the building trades (the three bastions of trade union strength) such programs exist within the bargaining agreement. This situation may change as costs of medical expenses rise, but the orientation of the big unions is still towards solving such problems on an individual basis. Similarly, there is absolutely no evidence that any of the unions would make sharp turns unless prodded by rank and file movements.

None of what I have argued addresses the question of what is to be done. That is another debate. But it is not possible to even debate the issue with intelligence until the fundamental issue of class stand-

point is clarified. Both in Moberg's article and in the editorial on labor and electoral politics, *In These Times* reveals its own naivete on trade union and working class concerns. You view both the class and the unions from the outside with ideological blinders that reflect more wish than reality. A left wing analysis would provide an in-depth exploration of the contradictions between trade union reform and the position of workers in the monopoly sectors. It would have sensitivity, not blindness, to the profound problem of bureaucracy as an independent factor in the struggle. It would be much more concrete in its historical perspective on the question of union democracy. Gone from Moberg's reports on Sadowski is the 116-day steel strike over those very issues that prompted the recent "experimental" no-strike deal, or the legacy of John L. Lewis in shaping the bureaucracy.

The situation in the miners is a case in point. Miller received open-throated left-wing and militant support because of the perfidious record of the Boyle administration. Miners for Democracy, the rank and file organization that had propelled the reform movement, was dissolved by the new leadership. Now, a few years after gaining power, the Miller administration is just another union apparatus dedicated to its own perpetuation and labor peace and opposed to the self-activity of the miners. The rank and file knows that it cannot rely on its leaders to support their demands for the right to shut down mines at any time, for a militant stance against strip-mining and for extension of democratic unionism. Rather than cheerleading every shred of democratic opposition and formal obeisance by the leaders to social reform, I hope that *In These Times* will show itself as a militant paper of the rank and file, as an opposi-

tion paper which, upon occasion, may support the initiatives of the bureaucracy or segments of it, but knows its own class and social interest better than has been revealed thus far.

—Stanley Aronowitz

David Moberg replies:

Stanley Aronowitz has simply misread what I have written in the labor series. There are problems with the structure, ideology, leadership and the power and interests of the bureaucracy in relation to the members in American unions. That much should be clear from any careful reading of the two articles I have written, and those issues will be developed more in the remainder of the series. Aronowitz may have an argument with the left leaders in the unions, but I am not a spokesman for their views.

I suspect that Aronowitz was upset that I tried to show the complex, contradictory nature of the unions. That includes good along with the bad. That approach demands critical attention to the actions of both rank and file and leadership. Any one-sided representation is not only untruthful but also a poor guide to action.

Union members often do see their unions or, more often, their officials as separate from the working class. There is some truth to that. Yet the same workers will also fight with determination to defend their unions in most cases.

Nowhere did I give the impression that the "overwhelming majority" of southern workers were organized. Aronowitz's cursory summary of other unorganized areas is simply an incomplete and partially accurate duplication of the figures I presented. Also, the whole thrust of the article on new organizing was the necessity of making organizing a political movement and not just recruitment of new dues-payers.

Restatements of abiding faith in the rank and file and blanket attacks on labor leaders do not constitute the kind of subtle analysis that is necessary and that Aronowitz has so often provided. ■

Succession to the Chicago city hall

Continued from page 3.

age jobs into it for dispersion. Daley was both mayor and chairman of the Central Committee, giving him total control over government and politics alike.

►Dunne is chairman and leading candidate.

George Dunne, president of the Cook county Board of Commissioners and committeeman of the 42nd Ward succeeds Daley as Central Committee chairman. He is also expected to be the organization's candidate for mayor. Dunne is an old-line Irish politician, now in his 60s, with a history of health problems and an extraordinary record of electoral success.

Dunne has long been considered one of the heirs apparent; his succession to the chairmanship is little surprise. He knows the organization, how it has been run, how to run it and keep it together. He has been free of major scandal, although his holding of tainted race-track stock and dealings in banking leave many unanswered questions that are certain to be probed in the coming weeks.

It is surprising that he should be considered for mayor as well as Central Committee chairman because most people in the party organization have chafed under the rule of a single governmental and poli-

tical boss. Early after Daley's death there were sweeping statements from all factions of the organization that never again would one man hold both posts.

But the necessity of holding the organization and the government together became immediately apparent to the big powers in the city. They saw the Young Turks maneuvering, the blacks bidding, the Poles pushing and the long knives out.

They recognized that first, there must be a sense of continuity, if not total unity, to avoid panic (particularly the panic that might be induced by a black mayor, even an interim figure) and second, that in the absence of a strong secondary tier of leadership, a holding action was in order.

While Dunne has many enemies within, he has more friends. More importantly, he is old enough seemingly not to be in a position to entrench himself for more than a few years.

The Young Turks tried to grab Central Committee power by adding anti-Dunne forces to their ranks, but it all fell apart as the syndicate as well as the business/finance establishment came down hard upon old-liners who were about to go with the Turks.

Dunne is acceptable because he is not

a long-term threat. The various insurgents, having lost their early bids, need time to regroup; the establishment needs time to pull things together and to spot the strongest long-term leadership potentials from within.

►Black or reformer likely to run.

There will still very likely be a contest in the special primary, emanating from the black community or the liberal-reform elements who represent about one-third of the city vote, but at best only four aldermen.

Blacks are especially incensed because Ald. Wilson Frost, the President Pro Tem of the City Council, was denied his logical role of acting mayor for even a week until the council could elect Bilandic. Then Frost was bought off to keep him from even putting his name into contention for the role of interim mayor.

Black community leaders, including publisher Gus Savage, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe and Rev. Jesse Jackson have already set up a process to draft an independent black mayoral candidate. A similar effort two years ago failed dismally.

The absence of Daley, the new enlightenment and the anger over the blatant racism of the city powers may bolster the prospects for a better showing if a reasonable candidate can be found—still a real question.

White reformer Bill Singer, who ran against Daley in the last election, is likely to make a second bid as well. He has substantial support on Chicago's lakefront and a backlog of goodwill among many who voted for Daley.

But head-to-head with Dunne, neither Singer nor a black would seem to have

much potential. Even in a three-way race, Dunne would probably have a commanding plurality.

A real split from inside the machine might open things up in the special election. Possibilities include Vrdolyak or one of his cronies, and Ald. (and former congressman) Roman Pucinski who has declared himself a candidate, lame-duck Lt. Gov. Neal Hartigan, former State's Atty. Edward Hanrahan, or perhaps someone from elsewhere in the organization who believes he can put it all together among the dissidents.

Historically, efforts to split the machine from within have gone down disastrously. The iron powers of patronage have reigned supreme. But enough voters have now expressed one or another form of discontent to perhaps encourage such an effort.

The difficulty is that those, such as Pucinski, who talk the most, have never been noted for their courage in following through on such threats. Hanrahan, who gained national notoriety as the perpetrator of the killing of Fred Hampton and its ensuing coverup, is today looked upon as an outsider and a dip even by his once loyal following in the aftermath of some failed political efforts. His day is likely gone, even as Chicago's George Wallace, when it comes to splitting up the Machine.

While it may break apart unpredictably in the coming weeks, the best guess is that things are moving from Big Dick to Big George without a remarkable amount of fragmentation. ■

Don Rose is a veteran political organizer for independent political campaigns in Chicago and a well-known local writer and commentator.

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Robert Carson

Keynes and Carter

As the inauguration draws closer, Carter's strategy for dealing with unemployment becomes clearer. He seems to be leaning toward a \$10 billion to \$15 billion one-shot individual tax cut, an increase in investment tax credit that may reduce business taxes by \$3 billion, a federal jobs program and continued deficit spending. Compared to recent Ford administration austerity, this may sound experimental and bold; in fact, it has all been tried before. Carter has clearly plotted a course of fiscal stimulation to reduce unemployment that varies little from routes earlier traveled by Kennedy, Johnson and even Nixon. The economics of John Maynard Keynes, after some recent slippage, is to be rehabilitated by the White House.

In its simplest form, modern Keynesianism holds that: 1) the level of unemployment depends on total demand for goods and services (in other words, the level of GNP); 2) without government fiscal and monetary intervention aggregate demand for goods and services will always tend toward long-run stagnation, thus creating greater levels of unemployment; and 3) government actions to offset falling demand must come either through tax and monetary policies that encourage investment, or by means of general tax cuts and increased government spending.

Until confronted by the paradox of rising prices and rising unemployment these last four years, Keynesians generally accepted the logic of a price-employment trade-off. Inflation was the cost of full employment; but so long as it was moderate it was not important.



By late 1974, however, Keynesians were in trouble. Unemployment had swollen to 9 percent and prices were rising annually at a rate of 12 percent. "Stagflation" stymied (or so it was assumed) any efforts at fiscal policy expansion to lower unemployment. Massive government spending or large tax-cuts were viewed as having undesired inflation trade-offs. Given the politics of the moment—a Republican president and rising middle-class reaction against inflation—the Keynesians silently slipped off stage. The ideological victory went to Secretary of Treasury Simon, Federal Reserve Chairman Burns and other conservatives who argued successfully that higher unemployment was necessary to hold prices and wages down and to allow corporate profits to go up.

Few Keynesians would argue that the inflation problem has gone away, but it has now diminished enough for the old creating expenditure programs. Immediately after the meeting Henry Ford chirped, "Mr. Carter is becoming more reassuring every day."

workers and blacks. But this explanation misses the point because fiscal expansion at this time is also attractive to corporate leaders. Carter may owe his election to modern capitalism's failure to create jobs, but this does not mean that Carter and the corporate leadership are on opposite sides of the fence. Witness the trek of Henry Ford and other leading business figures to Blair House early in December and their near unanimous agreement that now is the time to try tax cuts and job creating expenditure programs. Immediately after the meeting Henry Ford II chirped, "Mr. Carter is becoming more reassuring every day."

Why would American business, precisely at a time when they are reporting record profits, "endanger" their earnings by supporting government fiscal policy actions? The answer is simple. Corporations have enjoyed high profits during the past two or three years of austere government policy, but profits can be made only if continued sales are possible. With demand for autos and other goods softening, the workforce, bled earlier to provide profits, must receive a transfusion so that it can again increase its consumption.

The big question, of course, is: Will it work? The answer: for whom? For American business, expansionary fiscal policy should stimulate sales and profits—at least for a while. For American workers, fiscal stimulus will have precious little effect upon unemployment.

Such a conclusion flies in the face of modern employment theory and popular expectations, but ample evidence supports this view.

The failure of expansionary fiscal policy to deal with chronic unemployment is evident if we go back to the "Great Tax Cut of 1964." That action was perhaps the first self-conscious Keynesian effort to use fiscal policy in a bold attempt to reduce the existing, 5-6 percent unemployment. To be sure, the \$13 billion Kennedy-Johnson tax reduction spurred business investment and increased GNP. Between 1964 and 1966, investment increased by over 22 percent or more than twice that of the previous two years. GNP grew by 13 percent over the same period as compared to less than 10 percent in the earlier years. However, reported un-

employment fell by only 900,000 between 1964 and 1966—even though the government hired 1.7 million new people over this period. Real reduction in unemployment came not from tax cutting a la Keynes but from good old government hiring.

Another example of the ineffectiveness of "full employment" fiscal policy is the hyper-expansion of government spending during the war in Vietnam. Although government policy during the war may have been "unintended and undesired" (in other words, spending policies were determined on military as opposed to economic grounds), there is no evidence of significant increased employment as the result of war spending and expansion in the business sector. During the height of war spending, between 1966 and 1969, unemployment fell by less than 100,000. Meanwhile, direct government employment added 1.6 million people to public payrolls. Direct government hiring and not private sector job growth brought unemployment rates down during the middle and late '60s.

From the available data we can conclude that expansionary fiscal policy can increase business investment and profits and Gross National Product as well as raise average wages for those working. It also can stimulate, as the explosive effect of Vietnam spending showed, considerable price inflation (which of course gnaws into the wage gains of those working). However, fiscal policy has not changed the tendency in American corporate capitalism toward higher levels and rates of unemployment.

The fiscal option as a solution to the unemployment problem is a dead end for Jimmy Carter. Of course it will be tried, but to encourage hope for rescue via the economics of Lord Keynes is a cruel hoax on most of the unemployed, and on many of Carter's most ardent supporters.

Conventional Keynesian fiscal policy, of course, is not Carter's only option for dealing with the unemployment problem. Next we shall examine the possibility of government as an "employer of last resort."

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, N.Y., and is the author of *Main Line to Oblivion: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

Letters

DSOC tells us it isn't so

Editor:

I fear you were unkind in your treatment of us ("Retrieve the legislative branch," *ITT*, Dec. 20).

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee does—and will continue to—work in Presidential politics. We actively supported the Carter-Mondale ticket this year because we consider the power of the Executive crucial in any attempt to transform this society. We are not and were not looking for a "short-cut to socialism"—rather, we joined with our friends and allies in the trade unions, in the black and other minority communities, in the feminist movement and throughout the entire democratic left to support the ousting of Gerald Ford, so that all of us could have some minimal breathing space.

But we supported Carter, in the words of our *Newsletter*, "without illusions." To accomplish any of these things, to win any of the victories we need immediately just to survive, we saw Carter's election as a beginning and not as an end. That's why we've been working steadily to raise issues, educate constituencies and move the debate leftward.

We began early last year with a project that has proved one of the most effective vehicles in more than a decade to inject left-wing politics into the political mainstream. The project, "Democracy '76," focused on the Democratic plat-

form and demanded that the Democratic Party adopt a program of full employment planning, income and wealth redistribution and increasing democratic control over investment decisions. Support for that project came from leaders of the Black Congressional Caucus, major feminists, trade unionists from more than 12 international unions, office holders at the state, local and national level, leading liberal and radical figures ranging from I.F. Stone to Heather Booth to Tom Hayden. In 1977 we'll be building upon this effort to win wider public support for our three-point program. In this way, we hope—and expect—to bring pressure to bear upon Carter, to continue the struggle that began with his election.

Your editorial was unfair in its dismissal of DSOC as an organization interested only in presidential politics. It just isn't so. Our members have been active around the country in local and Congressional races since our founding. Gerry Cohen, one of our National Board members, ran as a publicly identified socialist for mayor of Chapel Hill, N.C.; our national chair, Mike Harrington, and four other DSOC members were elected delegates to the 1974 Democratic Mid-term Convention, running explicitly as socialists. This past year, our members were active in Congressional campaigns from the successful effort to re-elect Rep. Robert Drinan in Massachusetts to the Abzug and Hayden Senate campaigns to Ab Mikva's narrow win in Illinois. Two of our members, Seymour Posner in New York and Julian Bond in Georgia, sit in state legislatures. Like most of our members involved in electoral politics, I am an active member of a reform Democratic club in which I make my politics quite clear.

We have discussed within DSOC the very idea you advanced: running publicly-

identified socialists for legislative offices. We hope to do it—soon. We're looking for opportunities to advance credible socialist candidates against conservative or reactionary opponents, but since we conceive of ourselves as a loyal but critical section of the mass movement of the existing left in the United States—which is unfortunately a liberal, not a socialist mass movement, we will not run socialists against genuine liberals.

Your editorial implies a grand strategic design in DSOC's neglect of socialist candidates for legislative positions, but we have to make hard decisions about the allocation of scarce financial and staff resources. In our biggest push to date, we chose to concentrate on Democracy '76. I think it proved a wise choice.

Let me close on a less complaining note. Your newspaper is a welcome boon to a still small, but growing socialist left. It's an ambitious effort in which we all have a stake. Like Carter's election, your paper is a harbinger of hope and of our rising expectations. I am convinced that the left faces a new period of dynamic growth. May we all cooperate toward the fulfillment of our socialist dreams.

—Jack Clark

National Secretary
Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

Too easy on Vance

Editor:

Tim Frasca's story on the "ambiguity" of Cyrus Vance, our Secretary of State-designate (*ITT*, Dec. 13), paints Vance as being more "dovish" during the war in

Vietnam than he in fact was. Frasca, who based his analysis on the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* stories, omitted the facts that Vance was a key defender of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which was the official justification to bomb Hanoi for the first time in February, 1965; in 1966 he personally ordered the commitment of 175,000 U.S. troops to Vietnam that made the eventual half million almost inevitable; in 1966 Vance was responsible for more bombing raids on Hanoi which destroyed (among other things) a promising start on negotiations. It was only in 1968 when the Tet Offensive exposed the hollowness of official U.S. claims that Vance opposed another major escalation. All these facts were published in *The New Republic*. Why didn't *In These Times* have them?

—Jon Wiener
Los Angeles

More Shor

Editor:

Ira Shor's piece on why working class people ought to go to college (*ITT*, Dec. 6) even when the economy can't guarantee jobs to graduates is the kind of concrete personal advice that gives socialist analysis a genuine immediate relevancy. Socialist publications have traditionally neglected emotional life and the everyday problems of social survival, giving themselves a somewhat remote character. Shor's piece is the kind of thing of which I hope to see more.

—Arthur Maglin
Brooklyn



James Aronson

On the banquet trail of the failure of American journalism

One of the more disheartening developments of post-Watergate journalism is that journalists themselves have become news—even worse, celebrities. As such, and for fees of \$1,000 to \$3,000 or more, they have turned to the lecture circuit, where they studiously avoid assessing the press' responsibility for the mess we're in and pile it onto poor old Spiro Agnew. The press emerges as a faithful ink-stained St. Bernard standing vigil at the ramparts of freedom, a flagon labeled "Truth" dangling from its neck. Despite an occasional woof, the warp is more obvious.

At least for me it was, after sitting in recent weeks in uncomfortable seats at convocations of journalists and at hotel dinners, seeking morsels of enlightenment from my fellow craftsmen who lately have been closer than I to the action.

It began with a symposium at the *New York Times* auditorium, sponsored by the Alumni Association of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, titled "Campaign Past—Administration Future." The panelists, all of whom had covered the presidential campaign, were Richard Reeves of *New York*; Jules Witcover of the *Los Angeles Times*; Marvin Kitman of *Newsday*, and David Broder of the *Washington Post*. The evening had little past and no future. The participants sought to upstage one another with one-line gags that failed to convulse even a cordial audience, and with self-deprecating comments that somehow enhanced their self-importance. Witcover, an able and serious reporter, even sang a song (lyrics by Witcover) called "Lust in My Heart," reportedly sung in person to candidate Carter in a San Francisco hotel. It was the strongest argument to date for laying permanently to rest all gags, songs, doggerel and cartoons about lust.

A questioner—modesty forbids me from naming him—asked why the press seemed duty bound to sanctify the two-party system: how could the public even begin to learn about political alternatives if dissenting views were proscribed by the media. Silence. Anyone can answer, the questioner encouraged. Finally Reeves spoke up: It was the fault of archaic election laws that froze out the minor parties. The rest declined comment.

The next stop was the fifth annual A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention sponsored by the journalism review, *MORE*. It is grossly unfair that Liebling cannot rise in his shroud to protest the use of his name. They ought at least to remove the "counter." Since its first session in 1972 at a New York union hall, even as the American newspaper Publishers Association met across town, the Liebling affairs have moved trendily into the world of established journalism (the fifth was at the New York Hilton). The invited panelists extended no further "left" than the *Village Voice*. The *New York Times* and *Daily News* were in ample supply, and the major networks were represented, as were *Vogue* and *Women's Wear Daily*.

► Grave-diggers award.

Some of the journalists transcended the sexy titles of the panels ("Gossip: Private Parts of Private People"... "Obscenity on the Run"... "Private Eyes") to make thoughtful presentations (particularly about protecting sources and the ethics of interviewing). But the over-all impact was feather-down and the final event is best described as counter-Liebling. It was the presentation of the Annual A.J. Liebling Award for constructive and courageous journalism to CBS-TV's "Sixty Minutes." It was accepted, among others,

by Mike Wallace, who a few months earlier on "Sixty Minutes" had helped dig a grave at CBS for Daniel Schorr in an interview marked by calculated baiting and, according to Schorr, calculated editing. The award should have gone to Schorr.

Wearily, but buoyed by a freebie invitation and a free bar, it was back to the main ballroom of the Hilton some days later for a dinner of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the First Amendment Freedoms Award (seriously) to William S. Paley, the old master of the CBS plantation. That was an evening to remember. The money and power on the dais and in the room was staggering: the heads of all the networks, bankers, publishers, corporation lawyers and the Mayor of the City of New York. The chairman was that staunch defender of the right of the people to be heated and cheated, Charles F. Luce, chairman of the board of Consolidated Edison. CBS, of course, was out in force: Cronkite, Rather, Collingwood and Several Sides, his massive head blessedly free of the need to stare blinkingly at the teleprompter.

► Cox spoils a pleasant evening.

The award ceremony was without incident. But there was an aftermath. The speaker of the evening was Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor who went to the guillotine in the Saturday Night Watergate Massacre. A standing ovation, at the start. With Cantabrigian grace and a lawyer's circumlocution, he noted Paley's sensible criticism of the Federal Communications Commission's "Fairness Doctrine" (applause from Paley and the CBS crowd) and the complexities of the "Equal Time" provision (more applause). Then he lowered the boom. It was a contravention of democracy, he said, a de-

basing of the First Amendment for the networks to have systematically excluded the voice of minority candidates from election campaign coverage.

Cox's quiet voice was disarming, but the effect was remarkable: the applause at the end was perfunctory. Except at my table, where the recollection of the *Times* auditorium was vivid.

Last stop was the Americana Hotel, for the 25th anniversary dinner of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Tom Paine Award to Bella Abzug. Russell Baker of the *Times* spoke. Splendid on the Op Ed page, fine for 15 minutes on the platform, he went on for 50—including at least seven references to lust, what sounded like 107 to Lyndon Johnson's peccadillos, and (self-deprecating) references to his own success at the *Times*.

Then Bella rose. She accepted the award ("It's about time!"), and cast aside most of her prepared speech in anger at the lateness of the hour. She was glad to hear that Baker had achieved success through the *New York Times*. "I lost my job through the *New York Times*," she added. She was of course reversing the slogan of a *Times* appeal for classified ads and underscoring the *Times*' endorsement of Daniel Moynihan in the recent senatorial primary that had cost her the nomination.

Her one sentence put the press truly in perspective and wiped out a month of platitudes and preening. When the laughter died, I heard a single muffled but persistent chuckle. It was the ghost of Joe Liebling.

James Aronson is professor of communications, Hunter College, New York; veteran journalist; and a founder and long time editor of the *National Guardian*.



Frances Moore Lappé & Joseph Collins

Turning the desert green for international agribusiness

It takes a lot of freight to fill a DC10 cargo jet. Yet every day, from early December until May, a DC10 takes off from Senegal loaded with green beans, melons, tomatoes, eggplant, strawberries and paprika. Its destination? Amsterdam, Paris and Stockholm. Ironically the airlifts began in 1972, just as the drought in Senegal was beginning, and they dramatically increased even as it worsened.

In the late 1960s certain agribusiness firms circled Africa's semi-arid regions on their world maps. They were not concerned about hunger in the Sahel. They saw only low-cost production sites from which they might profit, given the European demand for fresh winter produce.

In 1971 Fritz Marschall, a German executive of world-ranging, California-based Bud Antle, Inc., visited Senegal. Perhaps you have heard before of Bud Antle. One of the world's largest iceberg lettuce growers, it once managed to get Cesar Chavez jailed for picketing. Marschall was struck by the similarity of Senegal's and southern California's climate. Only two generations ago U.S. government irrigation projects had made the California deserts bloom. Why couldn't Senegal replace California as his company's source of vegetables for the high-priced European winter market? By February of the following year Marschall—known among European vegetable dealers as "the pusher"—had set up Bud Senegal as an affil-

iate of Bud Antle's Brussels affiliate, the House of Bud.

► Budding business.

Today Bud Senegal operates garden plantations, using nothing but the latest technology. Israeli, Dutch and American engineers have installed a drip irrigation system with miles of perforated plastic tubing to take advantage of the vast reserves of water just below Senegal's dry, brownish red soil.

And since the undertaking is billed as "development," Bud has had to bring in virtually none of its own capital. Major stockholders and soft-term creditors include the Senegalese government, the World Bank and Swiss and Dutch development funds. The Senegalese government helped also by supplying police to evict villagers from land for Bud's plantations. Two Peace Corps volunteers are even helping develop nearby vegetable plantations for marketing through Bud.

Despite rhetoric about development and despite widespread hunger in Senegal, all the production is geared to feeding consumers in the European Common Market. This in spite of the fact that in 1974 alone European taxpayers spent \$53 million to destroy ("withdraw from the market") European-produced vegetables in order to keep prices up. One year green bean prices in Europe went lower than the costs of picking, packing and air freighting Bud's big crop in Sen-

egal. Did that mean more food for hungry Senegalese? Hardly. The director of Bud Holland, Paul van Pelt, admitted in an interview that "since the Senegalese are not familiar with green beans and don't eat them, we had to destroy them."

From May to December European tariffs make it unprofitable to export any vegetables. Does Bud Senegal let its plantations lie fallow or allow the local people to grow food for themselves during those months? No, again. Bud's better idea is to grow feed for livestock.

Agribusiness certainly does not see Senegal as a forsaken wasteland, devoid of agricultural resources, as most outsiders are made to view it. But the wasteland image continues to be reinforced. It makes the World Bank and A.I.D. appear benevolent as they rush in with multi-million dollar loans to countries like Senegal to build the infrastructure that agribusiness needs.

Kissinger in Senegal this year called for a multi-million dollar anti-hunger program that would "roll back the desert." But any analysis of hunger that puts the blame on "encroaching desert" consciously or unconsciously fails to come to grips with the inequalities in power at the root of hunger. Solutions proposed will inevitably be limited to the technical and administrative aspects—irrigation programs, modern mechanization, new seed varieties, foreign investment, grain reserve banks, etc. As with Bud Senegal,

increasing numbers of rural people will be deprived of land and at best will get low-paid seasonal jobs. Their impoverishment—as well as the huge foreign debt incurred in building such American-style agriculture—ensures that whatever is produced and much of the profits will be exported.

Unless the majority control the land and water resources, such "modernization" works against the interests of people who are seeking to feed themselves. Such a technical approach allows no reflection upon the political and economic arrangements that far more than changes in rainfall or even climate are at the root of human suffering and deprivation.

Until all the people share control over their country's resources, such "solutions" can only exclude an ever larger majority and at best make them perpetual objects of charity. In contrast, as the Chinese people have demonstrated, a people organized in control over their own resources can through their labor and ingenuity—not debt bondage to the World Bank and the I.M.F.—transform a desert into a granary for all to eat.

Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins are codirectors of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Their book, *First Food: Beyond the myth of scarcity*, will be published in March. Lappé is author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Their column appears regularly. Syndicated in *These Times*.

Editorial

Criminals move in all walks of life

In the 19th century, when people spoke of crime they usually referred to the Criminal Class, by which they meant some substrata of the working class. More recently, "criminal element" was in fashion among middle and upper class commentators. Now, since Watergate, various bribery scandals, and illegal corporate contributions and pay-offs, some people still think in the old ways. But it is increasingly clear that in the field of crime, unlike society at large, there are no classes in the United States.

In every category, and among all sectors of American society, crime has increased dramatically in recent years, as the first installment of Elliot Currie's four-part series on crime in this issue demonstrates. True, as we reported two weeks ago, the press plays up crimes of violence against middle and upper class whites and portrays blacks and hispanics as the most frequent criminals. But, in fact, those most likely to be murdered, raped, assaulted, or robbed are working class people themselves, and especially lower income blacks. Higher income people are less frequently victimized and, on the other hand, whether they be guilty of violent crimes, shoplifting, embezzlement, or some of the more esoteric crimes available only to people in positions of influence and power, are much less likely to be tried or imprisoned—and if they are imprisoned they are less likely to receive long sentences.

This has always been true and is only to be expected in a society where a person's power, status, and influence is measured primarily in monetary terms. But the rapid increase in the rate of crime across the board is something new. Some of it can be explained by particular circumstances, like the rising crime rate among youths, where almost 20 percent of the white youth and over 40 percent of black youth are unemployed. But rising crime cannot be explained in terms of increasing poverty alone, since there has been an overall relative decline in poverty in recent decades, and in any case criminals today are just as likely to be relatively well-off suburbanites as they are to be inner-city poor. Nor can rising crime be explained in terms of increasing inequality, either of income or power. The kind of inequality we have now is nothing new.

Inequality in itself is not a source of crime. In fact, in a society with vast inequalities where people have no reason to believe that things could be better and no personal expectations, discontent and crime will be relatively slight. But in a society like ours, where the capacity exists for everyone to live in comfort and security, and where people are constantly reminded that this is so and are constantly urged to consume an incredible array of goods and services, it should be no surprise that people act on these urgings, even if they don't have the money to buy things.

And in a society like ours where we are taught that there is no "natural" social order and where "money is the measure of the man," it should be no surprise that people in all walks of life will do whatever they can to get more—especially, as is the



case with wealthier thieves, when the expectation of serious punishment is low.

In the end, there are two ways substantially to reduce crime. The first is to lower expectations, to suppress needs, to destroy desires. This would require convincing people that there is a natural social order, that a few are born to live like kings while the rest remain peasants. The other is to fulfill the needs and desires created by corporate capitalism by establishing a society in which the technical skills and productive capacity of this country can be used to satisfy people's needs rather than being constrained by the need to make profits for private owners of capital.

Short of one or the other of these solutions and regardless of the activities and policies of criminologists and law enforcement agencies, crime will continue to plague us all.

The minor party vote

In this issue we publish the complete official election returns for minor party candidates. From the point of view of the left parties the results, as could have been expected, are rather sad. The combined vote of the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, the People's party, the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist party is some 215,000. This is less than President-elect Carter received in Rhode Island alone. It is less than half the 503,000 votes garnered by the three right wing parties. And it is less than a third of the 751,728 votes captured by Eugene McCarthy's independent candidacy.

Furthermore, the various left parties cannot even take comfort in believing that

no matter how miserable their showing it represents progress. Just the opposite. On a percentage basis, the Socialist party in 1912 received 20 times as many votes as the combined vote of the left parties in 1976. And the Socialist and Communist parties together in 1932 received 10 times as many votes as the combined left parties did last November.

From any point of view other than narrow doctrinal or organizational rivalry these left presidential campaigns are a painful waste of financial and human resources, a token ritual that proves nothing except the bankruptcy of the parties concerned.

Blacks and women in Carter's cabinet

In an interview in *Playboy* last November, President-elect Carter's top staff man, Hamilton Jordan, was quoted as saying, "If after inauguration you find a Cy Vance as Secretary of State and a Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of national security, then I would say we failed."

So soon, oh Lord, so soon!

As for the cabinet as a whole, the "new faces" we were promised, particularly blacks and women: if we can believe what President-elect Carter has to say, many were culled, but few were chosen.

The treatment of blacks, whose votes carried the South and the nation for Carter has been particularly insulting, though not entirely unexpected. It is true that Carter interviewed and offered many

blacks a job in the Cabinet. The problem was that it was all the same job, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Not surprisingly, several of those who were offered the job turned it down because, as one anonymous black politician told the *New York Times*, "It's a no-win situation for a black to become Secretary of H.U.D. or H.E.W. (Health, Education and Welfare)," because the problems in housing, health, education, and welfare are "probably insoluble as long as nothing is done about the economy."

Many blacks would have been glad to have accepted top economic or foreign policy jobs like Secretary of the Treasury, or Secretary of State, or even Attorney-General. But Carter seemed to be looking only for blacks already in highly vis-

ible positions, and then only to fill jobs that had little to do with basic policy making matters. The same, it should be noted, seems to be true of women.

In a sense, of course, this should not be seen as discrimination against blacks or women on Carter's part. The truth is that Carter would have chosen anyone for posts like head of the CIA, Secretary of the Treasury, Office of Management and Budget, national security advisor—so long as they were acceptable to the corporate community, so long, that is, as they were reliable members of the ruling class establishment. The problem is that such people tend not to be black or female.